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THE

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGUERRAND DE MONSTRELET:

CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CRUEL CIVIL WARS BETWEEN THE HOUSES OF

ORLEANS AND BURGUNDY;

OF THE POSSESSION OF

PARIS AND NORMANDY BY THE ENGLISH;

THEIR EXPULSION THENCE;

AND OF OTHER

MEMORABLE EVENTS THAT HAPPENED IN THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE,

AS WELL AS IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

A HISTORY OF FAIR EXAMPLE, AND OF GREAT PROFIT TO THE FRENCH,

Beginning at the Year MCCCC. *where that of Sir JOHN FROISSART finishes, and ending at the Year* MCCCCLXVII. *and continued by others to the Year* MDXVI.

TRANSLATED

BY THOMAS JOHNES, ESQ.

IN THIRTEEN VOLUMES.....VOL. III.

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HERE BEGINNETH

THE THIRD VOLUME

OF THE

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGUERRAND DE MONSTRELET.

CHAP. I.

THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS DIFFERENT CAPTAINS WITH TROOPS TO HARRASS THE ARMAGNACS ON THE FRONTIERS.——THE DEFEAT OF THE COUNT DE LA MARCHE.

MANY of the nobles and captains were now sent by the king to the countries of such as were confederates with the duke of Orleans and his party. In the number, the count de la Marche was ordered into the Orleanois, to subject it to the king's obedience, in company with the lord de Hambre.

Aymé de Vitry, Fierbourd, and others were sent against the duke of Bourbon, who had done much mischief to the country of Charolois; and having a large force with them, they despoiled the Bourbonois and Beaujolois. They advanced with displayed banners before the town of Villefranche, in which was the duke of Bourbon and his bastard-brother, sir Hector, a very valiant knight and renowned in war. There was with them a large company of knights and esquires, vassals to the duke, who, seeing the enemy thus boldly advancing, drew up in handsome array and sallied forth to meet them, and the duke himself joined them in their intent to offer battle. A severe skirmish ensued, in which many gallant deeds were done on each side. The bastard of Bourbon distinguished himself much in the command of the light troops, and fought most chivalrously. He was, however, so far intermixed with the enemy that the duke was fearful of his being slain or taken, and, sticking spurs into his horse, cried out to his people, 'Push forward! for my brother will be made prisoner unless speedily succoured.' Great part of his battalion followed him on the gallop toward the enemy,

and the battle was renewed with more energy: many men at arms were unhorsed, wounded and slain: at length, the van of the Burgundians, under the command of Aymé de Vitry, was forced to fall back on the main army, which was at a short distance off. The bastard, who had been struck down, was remounted, and returned to the duke. Before that day, no one person had ever heard the duke call him brother.

About forty were slain on both sides, but very many were wounded.

When the skirmish was ended, each party retreated without attempting more,—the duke and his men into Villefranche, and the others toward the country of Charolois, destroying every thing on their march.

Other parties were sent to Languedoc, Acquitaine and Poitou, to despoil the countries of the duke of Berry, the count d'Armagnac, and the lord d'Albreth. Sir Guichard Daulphin, master of the king's household, commanded one division; and the two others were under the lord de Heilly, marshal of Acquitaine, and Enguerrand de Bournouville.

They did infinite damage to the lands of the aforesaid lords; but one day, as the lord de

Heilly was lodged in a large village called Linières, he was attacked at day-break by a party of the duke of Berry, who defeated and plundered great part of his men of their horses and baggage: a few were killed and taken,—but he and the majority of his army saved themselves by retreating within the castle, which held out for the king.

I must say something of the count de la Marche and the lord de Hambre, who, as I have said, were ordered into the Orleanois. It is true, they might have under their command from five to six thousand combatants, whom they conducted, destroying all the country on their line of march, as far as Yeure-la-Ville and Yeure-le-Chastel. The count de la Marche was quartered in the village of Puchet, and the lord de Hambre in another town.

The moment their arrival at Yeure-la-Ville was known in Orleans, where were considerable numbers of men at arms for the guard of the country, about six hundred of them were assembled under the command of Barbasan de Gaucourt, sir Galliet de Gaulles, and a knight from Lombardy, together with three hundred archers. They marched all night as secretly as they could to Yeure-la-Ville, to the

amount of about a thousand men, under the guidance of such as knew the country well, and where the count was lodged. The count was, however, somehow informed of their intentions, and, having armed his men, posted the greater part of them in and about his lodgings: the others he ordered to keep in a body, and sent to the lord de Hambre to acquaint him with the intelligence he had received, that he might be prepared to come to his assistance, should there be any necessity for it. The count and his men were under arms, waiting for the enemy, the whole of the night; but when day appeared, and no news of the enemy arrived, he was advised to repose himself, and to order his men to their quarters.

Soon after sun-rise, one of the adversary's scouts rode into the town, and, seeing that no watch was kept, hastened back to inform his friends, whom he met near the place, of this neglect. They instantly entered the town, shouting, 'Vive le roi!' but soon after, crying out 'Vive Orleans!' made a general attack on the houses. The greater part hastened to the lodgings of the count, who was preparing to hear mass,—and the tumult became very great, for the count and his people fought gallantly;

nevertheless, he was conquered and made prisoner. The whole quarter was carried, and all taken or slain. After this defeat, the count and his men were conducted hastily to Orleans.

In the mean time, as the lord de Hambre was coming to their assistance, he was misled by a man whom he had chosen for his guide, and, on his arrival, found the whole town destroyed, and the count with his men carried off. Notwithstanding his grief for this event, he pursued the enemy with all speed, and, by his activity, overtook the rear, upon which he fell manfully, and defeated part of it. He rescued some of the prisoners,—but the count, with about four score (as it was told him), were sent forward as fast as horses could carry them, and were to be confined in the prisons of Orleans. The lord de Hambre was much troubled that he could not rescue him. There were slain in these two affairs from three to four hundred men on both sides, but the greater part were Armagnacs. Among others of the party of the count de Vendôme that were mortally wounded was Guoit le Gois, eldest son to Thomas le Gois, a capital citizen of Paris, which caused great sorrow to the Parisians.

After this affair, the lord de Hambre assembled, by the king's orders, a larger force than before, and made a very severe war on the duchy of Orleans and all attached to that party, which caused the country to suffer greatly.

King Louis of Sicily arrived at this time at Paris from Provence, attended by three hundred men at arms well equipped, and was lodged in his own hôtel of Anjou. He was grandly received by the king, the duke of Acquitaine and the other princes, and united himself with the king and the duke of Burgundy, promising to join their party against the family of Orleans and their adherents.

The duchess of Burgundy and her daughter came, nearly at the same time, from Burgundy to the Bois de Vincennes, where the queen and the duchess of Acquitaine resided, who received her with much pleasure. Thence they went to visit the dukes of Acquitaine and Burgundy,—and very gay and magnificent feasts were made on their arrival. They remained for a long time with the queen, living at the expense of the king.

At this period, the king of France sent the lord de Dampierre, admiral of France,

with other lords, to Boulogne-sur-mer, to meet the english ambassadors who were arrived at Calais. They went together to Leulinghen, where they agreed on a truce between the two crowns for one year,—after which the admiral and his companions returned to the king at Paris, where he was holding a grand assembly of prelates and ecclesiastics for the general reformation of the church. The particular object of this assembly was to select proper delegates to send to the holy father the pope, to request that a convenient place might be appointed for the holding of a general council. But in truth very little was done, for they could not agree on one single point: another meeting was therefore fixed upon, when a greater number of churchmen should be summoned to attend it.

The Parisians, having loyally served the king and the duke of Acquitaine in the late wars, obtained, through the means of the duke of Burgundy, that the power of the shrievalty, with all its franchises, of which the city of Paris had been deprived by royal authority in the month of January, in the year 1382, should be restored to it fully and freely by letters patent from the king. This created very

great rejoicings, and much increased the popularity of the duke of Burgundy.

CHAP. II.

THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS AMBASSADORS TO ENGLAND.—THE LORD DE CROY AND THE DUKE OF BOURBON'S CHILDREN OBTAIN THEIR LIBERTY.—OF COUNT WALERAN DE SAINT POL.

At the beginning of the month of May, the duke of Burgundy, with the approbation of the king of France, sent ambassadors to England, namely, the bishop of Arras, the provost of Saint Donas de Bruges, and the provost of Viefville, to treat of a marriage between one of the duke's daughters and the prince of Wales, a matter which had been talked of before *. They found the king of England at Rochester, who honourably entertained them, as did the other princes; but the prince of Wales was particularly

* Their passport is, in the Fœdera, dated January 11, 1412.

attentive, as their mission more immediately concerned him.

In the course of a few days, the bishop had fully explained the object of his coming to the king, his sons, and council; and having received a favourable answer, with very handsome presents to himself and his colleagues, they returned by way of Dover to Calais, and shortly after arrived at Paris.

The ambassadors related, in the presence of the kings of France and Sicily, the dukes of Acquitaine, Burgundy and Bar, and other great lords of the council, a full detail of their proceedings, and that the king of England and his family were well pleased with their proposals. Upon this, the duke of Burgundy sent orders to his son the count de Charolois, then at Ghent, to repair to Paris, to be present at the festivals of Easter.

At this time, by the intercession of the duchess of Bourbon, daughter to the duke of Berry, with the duke of Orleans and others of that party, the lord de Croy obtained his liberty from the prison in which he had for a considerable time been confined, and was escorted safely to Paris. On his departure, he promised by his faith to make such earnest

applications to his lord, the duke of Burgundy, that the duke of Bourbon's children should be delivered.

On his arrival at Paris, he was received with joy by the dukes of Acquitaine and Burgundy, especially by the latter; and a few days after, he made the request he had promised, and so successfully that the king and the other lords gave the duke of Bourbon's children their liberty. They were sent for to Paris from the castle of Renty, where they were confined; and they and their attendants were delivered without any ransom to the care of sir John de Croy, who escorted them to the territories of the duke of Berry. The son of sir Mansart du Bos, who had been taken with them, remained prisoner in the castle of Renty.

The lord de Croy was nominated governor of the county of Boulogne and captain of the castle of Braye sur Somme, by the king, with the approbation of the duke of Berry and the aforesaid duchess. He also obtained, through the recommendation of the duke of Burgundy, the office of grand butler of France. To sir Peter des Essars, provost of Paris, was given the office of grand master of waters and forests,

which had been held by count Waleran de St Pol, who was contented to yield it up.

The count de Saint Pol, now constable of France, ordered a large body of men at arms to assemble at Vernon sur Seine. In consequence, full two thousand armed with helmets came thither, with the design of making war on the inhabitants of Dreux, and on the count d'Alençon and his people, who had overrun parts of Normandy, near to Rouen, where they had plundered every thing they could lay their hands on.

To provide for the payment of this force, as well as for others in different parts of the country which the king had employed under various captains, a heavy tax was imposed on the whole kingdom, to be paid at two instalments,—the first on the Sunday before Easter, and the second at the end of June following. This affected the poor people very much; and in addition, the pope had granted to the king a full tenth to be levied, through France and Dauphiny, on all the clergy, payable also at two terms,—the one on St John the Baptist's day, and the other on All-saints following. The clergy were

greatly discontented,—but it was not on that account the less rigorously levied,—and commissioners were appointed to receive it from them.

The constable set out in the holy week from Paris for Vernon, to take the command of the men at arms, and to lead them against the king's enemies.

[A. D. 1412.]

CHAP. III.

THE DUKES OF BERRY AND OF ORLEANS, WITH OTHERS OF THEIR ADHERENTS, SEND AN EMBASSY TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.—THE CONSEQUENCES OF IT.

At the commencement of this year, the dukes of Berry, of Orleans, and of Bourbon, the counts de Vertus, d'Angoulême, d'Alençon and d'Armagnac, and the lord d'Albreth, calling himself constable of France, with other great lords, their confederates, sent ambassadors to the king of England, with

instructions, under their seals, for them to act according to the occasion with the king of England, his children and ministers.

As they were journeying through Maine to go to Brittany, and thence to England, they were pursued by the bailiff of Caen in Normandy, who, with the aid of the commonalty, attacked and defeated them, making some of them prisoners, with their sealed instructions and other articles: the rest escaped as well as they could.

After the defeat, the bailiff dispatched an account of it to the king and council at Paris, and sent the sealed instructions, with the other articles, in a leathern bag, well secured. The king assembled a great council at his palace of St Pol, on the Wednesday after Easter, for the full examination of these papers. He was present, as were the king of Sicily, the dukes of Acquitaine and Burgundy, the counts de Charolois, de Nevers, and de Mortaigne, the lord Gilles de Bretagne, the chancellor of France, namely, master Henry de Marle*, the bishops of Tournay, of Amiens,

* Morery, in his list of chancellors, places Arnauld de Corbie, lord of Joigny, from 1409 to 1413, and makes Henry de Marle, lord of Versigny, his successor in the *latter year*.—

of Constance, and of Auxerre, the rector of the university, the provost of Paris, and several others, as well of the king's council as capital citizens of Paris and students of the university.

The chancellor of the duke of Acquitaine, the lord d'Olhaing, lately an advocate in the parliament, then declared, that there had been given to his charge, by the king's ministers, a leathern bag, which had been taken by the bailiff of Caen, together with a knight, chamberlain to the duke of Brittany, from de Faulcon d'Encre and friar James Petit, of the order of the Augustins, and other ambassadors from the lords mentioned in the papers contained in the bag, which had been transmitted by the said bailiff to the king's council. He added, that he had found in this bag four blank papers, signed and sealed by four different persons, namely, Berry, Orleans, Bourbon and Alençon. Each blank had only the name signed on the margin above the seal. He had also found many sealed letters from the duke of Berry addressed to the king of England, to the queen, and to

See *post*, where it is said, that sir Reginald (*i. e.* sir Arnauld) de Corbie was displaced (1413), and Eustace de Lactre appointed in his place.

their four sons; and in like manner, from the duke of Brittany to the earl of Richmond and to other noblemen in England. There were also many letters without any superscription, being credential ones for the aforesaid Faulcon and friar James Petit, to the king and queen of England.

These letters were publicly read, and in them the duke of Berry styled the king of England, 'My most redoubted lord and nephew;' and the queen, 'My most redoubted and honoured lady, niece and daughter;' and they were signed with the duke of Berry's own hand. In the one to the queen, there were two lines in his own handwriting, desiring her to place full confidence in the said ambassadors.

These blanks were publicly displayed,—and the king held them some time in his hand. There was a small article on a single sheet of paper containing the instructions for the ambassadors, which was likewise read aloud, and contained a repetition of the charges made against the duke of Burgundy, by the duchess of Orleans and her sons, for the death of the late duke of Orleans. It recited, that they had frequently demanded justice of the king of France for this murder, but could never

obtain it, because the duke of Burgundy had prevented and evil counselled the king, by persuading him that the duke of Orleans had been a disloyal traitor to his king and country, which was false,—adding, that the duke of Burgundy had seduced the commonalty of France, more especially the populace of Paris, by asserting that the late duke of Orleans wanted to destroy the king of France and his family, which was also a falsehood, for it had never even entered his thoughts.

These instructions contained, likewise, that the duke of Burgundy had caused the king to be angry with the duke of Brittany, because he had obstructed his expedition against Calais, and several other attempts which the duke of Burgundy had plotted against England; that the duke of Burgundy had instigated the people of Paris so greatly against the king and the duke of Acquitaine that every thing was governed to his will,—and he had now the royal family in such subjection that they dared hardly to open their mouths; that the Parisians, under pretext of a bull granted by pope Urban V. against the free companies that had ravaged France, had caused them and their adherents to be excommunicated, and had forcibly constrained

the official at Paris to proceed against them in the severest manner, and to denounce them publicly, as excommunicated, with every aggravation of circumstance.

These ambassadors were not to discover themselves to any man in England, unless they were sure of his support; and when they had read the contents of these papers to the king, they were to demand a private audience, and declare from the dukes of Berry, of Orleans, of Bourbon, and from the count d'Alençon, that they were most anxious for his welfare and honour, and ready to aid and assist him against the duke of Burgundy, as well as against the Welsh and Irish.

They were to add, that if they could not succeed against the Scots, which they would attempt, and in case they could not obtain all they wished, they would engage to establish a peace between him and the king of France; and that if there were any lands to which he laid claim, or pretended any right, on their side the sea, they would manage the matter to his full satisfaction. They were also to say, that for want of due justice being administered at home, they were come to claim it from him, in regard to the death of

the late duke of Orleans; and as bearing the name of king, it belonged to him to do justice; and he would acquire perpetual honour to himself, and great advantages to his subjects, by granting them his aid and support. It was also worthy of his interference, considering the high rank of the late duke of Orleans. They were likewise to say, that the undersigned would serve him and his family, as well as their descendants, in all times to come, and which they were enabled to do, even against the most potent in the realm of France.

These ambassadors were also to require an immediate aid against the duke of Burgundy, of three hundred lances and three thousand archers, who should receive pay in advance for four months.

The chancellor of Acquitaine next produced a sketch of their intended government of France, containing many articles, which were read aloud. Among other schemes, there was to be imposed on every acre a tax called a land-tax; and as there were deposits of salt in the kingdom, there were likewise to be granaries of wheat and oats for the profit of the king: that all lands or houses which were in a ruinous state should be instantly repaired,

or otherwise forfeited to the crown: that every commoner should be forced to work or quit the realm,—and that there should be but one weight and one measure throughout the country. Item, that the duchies of Lorraine and Luxembourg should be conquered, as well as the towns in Provence and Savoy, and annexed to the kingdom of France. Item, that the university should be removed from Paris, and one erected and nobly endowed for the reception of numbers of discreet men.

There were many rolls produced, but not read, as they were of little consequence. After the chancellor of Acquitaine had concluded, the provost of the merchants and the sheriffs preferred two requests to the king, by the mouth of a monk of the order of St Benedict and doctor of divinity.

One was, that the king would be pleased to grant to the city of Paris a third of the taxes collected in that city in the same form and manner as had been done during the reign of king Charles, whose soul may God receive! for the reparations of the said town and the improvement of the river Seine, of which, as the provost of merchants declared, they were in great need; that it would be for the

advantage of the king and his good city that certain repairs, very much wanted, should be undertaken, and the place better fortified against the bitter hatred which the dukes of Berry, Orleans, Bourbon, and their faction bore to it. He added, that the town of Tournay was the best fortified, and in the most complete repair of any in the kingdom, because the inhabitants allot certain sums for this purpose; and that, if all the king's enemies were to besiege it, they would never be able to injure it.

The other was, that orders should be given to the chancellor to seal without opposition the patent of an office vacant, or becoming so, by the demission of one of the Armagnacs, which had hitherto been refused.

They were told, that on the Thursday ensuing, they should have answers to both of these requests.

The provost and sheriffs demanded beside, that the chancellor of France should lay before the king such letters as had come to the knowledge of the duke of Acquitaine, mentioning that the dukes of Berry, Orleans, Bourbon, and the count d'Alençon intended making a new king, to the exclusion of his

present majesty and the duke of Acquitaine. The chancellor replied, that the subject of their present consideration was the letters contained in the bag; that it was true, he was in possession of letters and other papers mentioning this circumstance, and that he had assured the duke of Acquitaine of their contents.

The chancellor of Acquitaine then declared publicly to the king, that the grand master of his household, sir Guichart Daulphin, had written to inform the duke of Burgundy, that the dukes of Berry, Orleans, Bourbon, and the count d'Alençon, had again renewed their oaths of alliance in the city of Bourges; that the leaders of the confederacy had met in that city, and had there determined to destroy the king of France, his whole royal family, the kingdom of France, and the good city of Paris, or perish themselves in the attempt.

The king was much affected on hearing this, and replied with tears, 'We now fully see their wickedness, and we entreat of you all that are of our blood to advise and aid us against them; for the matter not only regards you personally, but the welfare of the whole kingdom is in danger; and we shall therefore

expect the support of all present, and of every loyal subject.'

The king of Sicily then rose, and, falling on his knees before the king, said, ' Sire, I entreat, that in regard to your own honour and welfare, as well as for that of your realm, you will order the most efficacious measures to be pursued against these rebels, for there seems to be instant need of it.'

In like manner, the dukes of Acquitaine and Burgundy, and all the other lords, knelt to the king, and proffered him their services to the utmost of their power. When this was done, the assembly broke up, and all that had passed was promulgated through Paris: even accounts of it were sent in writing to different bailiffs in the kingdom, to the great astonishment of many.

CHAP. IV.

DUKE LOUIS OF BAVARIA IS DRIVEN OUT OF PARIS BY THE PARISIANS, AND HIS PEOPLE ROBBED.—OF THE CARDINAL DE CAMBRAY, AND THE PROHIBITION OF THE KING OF ENGLAND.

About this time, duke Louis of Bavaria, brother to the queen of France, and residing at Paris, was much suspected by the Parisians of having in secret spoken favourably to the king and queen of the dukes of Berry and Orleans; and fearing it might be prejudicial to them, knowing how much they were hated by these dukes, they assembled one day in great numbers, and sent to tell duke Louis, that they were much displeased with him, for that he was of the Orleans-party; and since he was so well inclined to them, he must go and join them.

Duke Louis sent for answer, that he was not of any party, but of that of the king. The matter, therefore, rested in this state for the present; but as he perceived they were dissatisfied with him, and apprehending some insult, he went away with very few attendants

to the castle of Marcoussy. Before his departure, he had a waggon laden with his plate and other most valuable effects, which he sent off under the escort of three gentlemen of his household,—one of whom was a young nobleman of about fifteen years old, of high rank in Germany,—and some servants, to the town of Valenciennes, intending to follow them speedily.

They had not proceeded far on their journey when some of the burgundian party, incited by avarice and cruelty, namely, the bailiff de Foquesolle, his brother Jacotin, Jacques de Bracquencourt, and others of their companions, the greater part from Picardy, having learnt the value of this convoy, by the treachery of sir Morlet de Betencourt, followed and overtook it between the rivers Seine and Oise. They made a sudden attack, which was no way resisted, putting to death most of the attendants, and seizing the waggon, which they carried off, with the young esquire above mentioned, and lodged themselves at a nunnery called Premy, near to the city of Cambray.

When they had tarried there two or three days, they led the young man out of the nunnery by night, and most inhumanly murdered him,

and threw him into a ditch full of water.—When he was dead, they drove a stake through his body, to fix it at the bottom of the ditch; and in this state was it found, some days after, by the servants and workmen of the nunnery.

He was carried thence and interred in the consecrated ground of the church, where, afterward, was performed a most solemn service for the salvation of his soul, at the expense of his friends, who made great clamours and lamentations when they heard of his fatal end.

The Burgundians, having well secured their prize, lodged it in the house of an inhabitant of their acquaintance in Cambray, and set off from the Cambresis to other parts where they had business. On duke Louis receiving information of this exploit, he was in the utmost rage and grief, especially for the death of the young esquire, as well as for the loss of his other servants, and his effects, and made heavy complaints of it to the king, the duke of Acquitaine, and particularly to the duke of Burgundy, whose vassals the perpetrators said they were. The duke of Burgundy promised him the restitution of his valuables, and the punishment of the offenders; but, a few days after, duke Louis set out from the

castle of Marcoussy, and was, by orders of the duke of Burgundy, escorted by the vidame of Amiens, with a considerable force, as far as the town of Valenciennes, where he staid a long time. At the end of six weeks, he learnt that the greater part of his effects were deposited in the town of Cambray: he therefore wrote to the magistrates, and caused letters also to be sent to duke William of Hainault, to whom he was related: in short, he made so much stir that his effects were restored to him,—that is to say, all that had been deposited in Cambray.

The then bishop of Cambray was master Peter d'Ailly, an excellent doctor of divinity: he was created cardinal by pope John XXIII. and took the title of Cardinal of Cambray. John de Gaures, son to the lord de Liquerque, master of arts, who was at that time with the court of Rome, succeeded to this bishoprick.

At this period, Henry king of England caused it to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet in Calais, and in all the places bordering on France, that none of his subjects, of whatever rank, should any way interfere between the two factions in France, nor go into France to serve either of them by arms or otherwise, under pain of death and confiscation of fortune.

CHAP. V.

THE KING OF SICILY LEAVES PARIS.—THE SIEGE OF DOMFRONT.—THE BATTLE OF SAINT REMY DU PLAIN.—THE SIEGE OF BELLESME,—AND OTHER EVENTS OF THE YEAR.

On Tuesday the 20th day of April of this year, the king of Sicily, by order of the king and council, marched his men at arms out of Paris in handsome array. He was escorted out of the town by the duke of Burgundy, the provost of Paris, and a very great number of noblemen and others. He hastened to Angers, and to his possessions in the county of Maine, to defend them against the counts d'Alençon and de Richemont, who harrassed them much by an incessant warfare. On his arrival at Angers, he summoned all his vassals, as well knights and esquires as those who were accustomed to bear arms, and sent them to garrison all his towns which were near to those of the enemy.

Shortly after, sir Anthony de Craon, the borgne de la Heuse, knight, and other captains

were sent by the king to the county of Alençon, to subject it to his obedience. They gained the town of Domfront, but failed in taking the castle; for it was very strong in itself, and well garrisoned and provided with all necessary stores. They remained, however, before it, annoying the garrison to the utmost of their ability.

The garrison sent to the count d'Alençon to require instant succours: he was much grieved at the loss of the town of Domfront, but answered by one of his heralds, that he would very shortly come and give the enemy battle, if they would wait for him there. Sir Anthony de Craon and the other captains, hearing this, dispatched messengers to the king of France for reinforcements. The king sent instant orders to the constable and marshal of France, who were at Vernon with a great armament, to advance to Domfront. This they obeyed,—and the king of Sicily also sent thither large reinforcements. But on the day fixed for the battle, the count d'Alençon neither came himself nor sent any forces.

The constable and the other commanders having waited under arms the whole of that day, seeing no signs of their adversaries coming,

erected a strong bulwark against the castle, in which they left a numerous garrison, to keep it in check, and oppose any attempts to relieve it, and then departed.

The constable marched to besiege the town of St Remy du Plain, and sent sir Anthony de Craon, with a large force to Vernon, to escort the cannons, bombards, and other military engines, to St Remy. There were in company with the constable, his nephew John of Luxembourg, sir Philip de Harcourt and his brother sir James, the lord de Beausault, the vidame of Amiens, the lord d'Offemont *, the lord de Canny, the borgne de la Heuse, Roux de Neele, Raoul son to the vidame of Amiens, the lord de Lovroy, le Gálois de Renty †, sir Bort Queret, the lord de Herbainnes, the lord de Saine, and many noble knights and esquires, to the number of twelve hundred helmets, and a large body of archers.

They quartered themselves within the town of St Remy, and around the castle, which was tolerably strong and well garrisoned

* Guy de Nesle, vol. ii. p. 228.

† Renty was the name of a considerable family in Artois. I can find nothing about any of the others.

with men at arms, and summoned it to surrender to the king's obedience; but on a refusal, some engines were pointed against the walls, which did them much damage. During this time, the lord de Gaucourt, sir John de Dreues, sir Jean de Guarenchieres, Guillaume Batillier, the lord d'Argiellieres, John de Falloise, with other captains of the Orleans and Alençon party, assembled a considerable body of combatants, with the intent of making an unexpected attack on the constable and taking him by surprise.

In consequence, they marched on the 10th day of May from their place of rendezvous, and, riding all night, came towards the end of it very near their adversaries. The latter were, however, day and night on their guard, and had spies and scouts dispersed over the country. Morlet de Mons, Galien bastard of Auxi, and others, were on guard when the Armagnacs approached. They made Morlet de Mons and Galien prisoners; but the rest escaped, and, galloping as fast as their horses could carry them to the main army, shouted out, 'To arms, to arms!' adding, that the Armagnacs were advancing in battle-array toward the camp, and had already made

prisoners of Morlet and Galien, with some others.

The constable, hearing the noise, ordered his men to arm without delay, and dispatched the lord de St Legier and the lord de Drucat, two well experienced knights, to examine and report the truth of this alarm. They had not gone far before they saw the enemy advancing, as had been said, on which they returned to inform the constable of it. He immediately caused his banner to be displayed, and his trumpets sounded, and, sallying out of his tent with a part of his men, drew them up in battle-array to receive the enemy, and urged the remainder of his men to make haste to join him. When he had mounted his horse, he rode along the line, to post his army most advantageously, and exhorted the whole, in the kindest manner, to combat boldly the enemies of the king and crown of France.

By the advice of the most experienced, his carts and baggage were disposed of in the rear of his army, with varlets to guard them. On each wing of the men at arms were posted the archers and cross-bows, as far as they could be extended. When every arrangement was made, and the enemy was in sight, several

new knights were created, as well by the constable as by others present, namely, John of Luxembourg, John de Beausault, Raoul son to the vidame of Amiens, Alard de Herbainnes, le Brun de Saine, Roux de Neele, Raillers de Fransseurs, Regnault d'Azincourt, and many more. This done, the constable dismounted and posted himself under his banner,—when instantly after the Armagnacs entered the town, full gallop, thinking to surprise their adversaries.

On perceiving they were prepared for them, they charged the division of archers and cross-bows with great shoutings, and at the first shock killed about twelve: the rest posted themselves very advantageously on the other side of a ditch, whence they made such good use of their bows and cross-bows that they routed the horses, which were unable to withstand the sharpness of their arrows, and flung down many of their riders.

The constable then advanced his main battalion, and cried out to them, 'Here, you scoundrels! here I am whom you are seeking for: come to me!' but their ranks were so broken, chiefly by the bowmen, that they could not rally, and, consequently, betook

themselves to flight. The army of the constable, noticing this, fell on them lustily, shouting their cries, and killed numbers: the archers, being lightly armed, pursued them vigorously, and put many to a cruel death.

There was near the field of battle a fish pond, into which many horses ran with their riders, and both were drowned.

A valiant man of arms from Brittany attacked these archers with great gallantry, expecting to be supported by his companions, but he was soon pulled from his horse and slain. The constable, seeing the defeat of his enemies, mounted several on the fleetest horses, that they might attack them in their flight, and very many were indeed slain and taken: the remnant fled for refuge to Alençon and other towns belonging to their party.

More than four score prisoners were brought to the constable, who was with his knights, rejoicing on the victory they had gained; and in the number were the lord d'Anieres, knight, and sir Jaunet de Guarochieres, son to the lord de Croisy, who was with the constable. When he thus perceived his son led prisoner, he was so exasperated against him that he would have killed him had he not been withheld.

Those who had made this attack on the constable had brought with them a multitude of peasants, in the expectation of destroying him and his army,—but the reverse happened, for upwards of four hundred of them were killed in the field, and from six to eight score made prisoners. Shortly after, the constable returned into the town of St Remy du Plain, whence he had dislodged in the morning; and this battle, ever since, has borne the name of St Remy. He then made preparations to storm the castle; but the garrison, seeing no chance of further relief, surrendered it, and were, by the constable, received to the obedience of the king.

The king of Sicily had about eight hundred chosen men at arms in the county of Alençon,—and when he heard that the Armagnacs had collected a large force to march to raise the siege of St Remy, he sent four score of his men to reinforce the constable, who arrived at St Remy four hours after the action was over. They were overjoyed at the victory, and the surrender of the castle, both of which they were ignorant of; and having thanked God for this good fortune, and

congratulated the constable thereon, they returned to the king of Sicily.

The constable advanced to Bellême with his army, accompanied by the marshal of France and sir Anthony de Craon; and on their arrival, they were soon joined by the king of Sicily, with archers, cross-bows, and other implements of war. They instantly formed the siege of the castle,—the king of Sicily investing it on one side, and the constable and marshal on the other. Their attacks were so severe and incessant that the garrison could not withstand them, but surrendered on terms. Having placed a new garrison there in the king's name, the constable marched away toward Paris; the marshal returned to Dreux; and the king of Sicily and his men went for Mans, to guard his territories of Anjou.

On the constable's arrival at Paris, he was magnificently feasted by the king, and the dukes of Acquitaine and Burgundy, as well for the victory he had gained at St Remy as for other matters, which, during his expedition, he had brought to an honourable conclusion; and a sum of money was instantly ordered him, for the payment of his men at arms. Splendid

presents were also made him by the king and the duke of Burgundy.

While things were thus carried on successfully against the count d'Alençon, Aymé de Vitry and the bastard of Savoy * kept up a continued warfare with the duke of Bourbon in the Beaujolois; and about the middle of April, an engagement took place near to Villefranche, when two of the duke's captains, Vignier de Reffort and Bernardon de Seres, were defeated, and with them eight score men at arms, knights and esquires: few escaped death or being made prisoners.

In another part of the kingdom, the lord de Heilly and Enguerrand de Bournouville were equally successful, and had subjected to the king's authority the greater part of Poitou. They had very lately gained a victory over two hundred of the duke of Berry's men, near to Montfaucon.

The grand master of the king's household, sir Guichard Daulphin, and the master of the cross-bows of France, and sir John de Châlon †,

* Humbert, natural son of Amadeus VII. and brother of Amadeus VIII. counts of Savoy.

† John de Châlon, second son to Louis I. count of Auxerre, and brother to Louis II.

were sent by the king's orders, with ten thousand horse, to lay siege to St Fargeau in the Nivernois, which belonged to John son to the duke of Bar. While there, they were in daily expectation of a battle, but in vain: however, when they had remained ten or twelve days, with the loss of many men in killed and wounded, the town surrendered, and was by them regarrisoned in the king's name.

With similar success did the lord de St George and the nobles of Burgundy make war on the count d'Armagnac, in Gascony. Sir Elyon de Jacques-Ville was stationed at Estampes, and made daily conquests from the Orleans-party, who at this period were very unfortunate, for war was carried on against them on all sides.

To provide a remedy, and to enable themselves to make head against their adversaries, they sent a solemn embassy to Henry king of England, and to his children, to solicit succours of men and money. The ambassadors, by means of their credential letters and other papers which they brought from these lords of France, treated with king Henry so that he consented to send to the

dukes of Berry, Orleans, and their party, eight thousand combatants, under the command of his second son, the duke of Clarence.

For the confirmation of this, he granted to the ambassadors letters under his great seal, which they carried back to the dukes of Berry, Orleans, Bourbon, and the count d'Alençon and others, whom they found at Bourges waiting their return. They were much rejoiced on seeing the great seal of the king of England; for they expected to have immediate need of his assistance, as they had information that the duke of Burgundy was intending to lead the king in person to subdue and conquer them.

CHAP. VI.

CHARLES KING OF FRANCE, ATTENDED BY OTHER PRINCES, MARCHES A LARGE FORCE FROM PARIS TO BOURGES.—LETTERS FROM THE KING OF ENGLAND,—AND OTHER MATTERS.

THE council of state now determined that the king should march in person against his

rebellious subjects, to reduce them to obedience. Summonses were sent throughout the kingdom for men at arms and archers to assemble between Paris and Melun; and at the same time, great numbers of carriages were ordered to meet there for the baggage. In like manner, the dukes of Acquitaine and Burgundy issued their special summonses.

When all was ready, and the king on the point of leaving Paris on this expedition, a large body of the Parisians and members of the university waited on him, and earnestly required, in the presence of his council, that he would not enter into any treaty with his enemies without their being included and personally named therein. They remonstrated with him on the necessity for this, as they were hated by his enemies, because they had loyally served him against them.

The king and council granted their request. —The king then left Paris in noble array, on Thursday the 5th day of May, and lay the first night at Vincennes, where the queen resided: he thence went through Corbeil to Melun, where he remained some days waiting for his men at arms. On the ensuing Sunday, the dukes of Acquitaine and Burgundy set out

from Paris to join the king at Melun, to which place large bodies of men at arms and archers repaired from all parts of the kingdom.

On Saturday, the 14th of May, the king marched his army from Melun, accompanied by the dukes of Acquitaine, Burgundy and Bar, the counts de Mortain and de Nevers, with many other great barons, knights and gentlemen. It had been resolved in council, that the king should not return to Paris until he had reduced the dukes of Berry, Orleans and Bourbon, with their adherents, to obedience.

He then advanced to Moret, in the Gatinois, and to Montereau-Faut-Yonne. At this last place, he was wounded in the leg by a kick from a horse, but continued his march to Sens, where he was confined by this accident six days. The queen and the duchess of Burgundy had hitherto attended him, but they were now sent back by their lords to reside at Vincennes. The count de Charolois was ordered by his father to return to Ghent; and, shortly after, the queen went to Melun, where she held her court.

During this time the English, on the frontiers of the Boulonois, took by storm the fortress of Banelinghen, situated between Ardres and Calais, and the inheritance of

the lord de Dixcunde*, notwithstanding there were sealed truces between the kings of France and England. It was commonly said that the governor, John d'Estienbecque, had sold it to the English for a sum of money. The French were much troubled when they heard of this capture, but they could not any way amend it, and were forced to be contented. The governor and his wife resided quietly with the English, which convinced every one that the place had been sold, and also some of his soldiers, who had been made prisoners, were ransomed. This conduct of king Henry surprised many; for he had appeared earnest in his desire to marry his eldest son with the daughter of the duke of Burgundy,—but he had been turned from it by the offers and negotiations of the ambassadors before mentioned, and had now united himself with them.

The king of England wrote the following letter to the towns of Ghent, Bruges, Ypres and the Franc, which he sent by one of his heralds.

'Henry, by the grace of God, king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, to

* Q. Dixmuyde?

our honoured and wise lords the citizens, sheriffs and magistrates, of the towns of Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, and of the territory du Franc, our very dear and especial friends, we send health and greeting. 'Very dear and respected lords, it has come to our knowledge, through a very creditable channel, that under the shadow of our adversary the king of France, the duke of Burgundy, count of Flanders, is making, or about to make, a speedy march into our country of Acquitaine, to wage war upon and destroy our subjects, particularly on our very dear and well beloved cousins the dukes of Berry, Orleans and Bourbon, and the counts of Alençon, of Armagnac, and the lord d'Albreth.

'Since, therefore, your lord perseveres in his malicious intentions, you will have the goodness to assure us, on the return of our messenger, by your letters so soon as possible, whether the Flemings be willing to conform to the truces lately concluded between us, without any way assisting their lord in his wicked purposes toward us.

'Understanding, honoured lords, and very dear friends, that if your town, and the other towns in Flanders, be desirous of

continuing the terms of the truces, to the advantage of Flanders, we are very willing, on our part, to do the same. Very dear friends, may the Holy Spirit have you alway in his keeping!—Given under our privy seal, at our palace of Westminster, the 16th day of May, in the 13th year of our reign *.'

The Flemings sent for answer to this letter by the bearer, that they would no way infringe the truces between the two countries; but that they should serve and assist the king of France their sovereign lord, and their count the duke of Burgundy, as heretofore, to the utmost of their power. This letter and answer were sent to the duke of Burgundy, who was attending the king in the town of Sens in Burgundy.

At this same time, the duke of Berry, by the advice of the count d'Armagnac, coined money with the same arms and superscription as that of the king of France, in the town of Bourges, to pay his troops, which greatly exasperated the king and his council when they heard thereof. The coins consisted of golden crowns and others, perfectly similar to those of the king.

* See this letter, and the treaty with the duke of Berry, &c. in Rymer, A. D. 1412.

CHAP. VII.

THE TOWN OF VERVINS IS TAKEN BY SIR CLUGNET DE BRABANT, AND AFTERWARD RETAKEN.—THE CASTLE OF GERSIES IS WON BY SIR SIMON DĒ CLERMONT.

About this same time, the town of Vervins, which was very strong and rich, was taken by treachery, by sir Clugnet de Brabant and Thomas de Lorsies, lord of Boquiaux, and some other gentlemen, to the amount of six hundred men, from different countries, of the party of the duke of Orleans. This was said to have been effected by a butcher who had been for ill conduct banished the town, and in revenge had joined the army of sir Clugnet de Brabant.

The butcher's wife and family had remained in the town; and one day, when it was dusk, they hid themselves near the gate, and about sun-rise, when the guard had quitted the ramparts, and the gate was opened and the drawbridge let down, they made a signal to the enemy, who was in ambuscade. Sir Clugnet instantly entered the place, sounding

trumpets, and shouting out, 'The duke of Orleans for ever!' to the great surprise of the inhabitants, who were far from expecting such a morning salute.

Very few were made prisoners, but all were robbed; and for three days the money and plate of the lord de Vervins, who was with the king, or on his road to join him, as well as every thing of value in the different houses, were collected, and sent off by sir Clugnet, to the amount of thousands of florins, to the town of Ardennes *, that those of his countrymen who had joined his party, and those who had accompanied him on this expedition, might be paid.

The neighbouring towns were astonished when they heard of this event, and collected a large force to enable them to besiege the enemy in Vervins, and retake the town. The bailiff of the Vermandois, sir le Brun de Bairins, the lord de Chin, with many other knights and citizens, hastened thither, to the number of four hundred helmets and from six to eight thousand infantry very well armed.

The lord de Vervins, who was of high rank and a very expert knight, no sooner

* Q. Ardres?

heard of his loss than he hastened to join the besiegers, and led many brisk attacks on the town. Those who had captured it made an excellent defence from the walls with bows and cross-bows, so that the besiegers were twenty-three days before it. On the 26th of June, the lord de Boquiaux, Thomas de Lorsies, son to the lord de Selebes, knights, the bastard d'Esne, and those who were with them, considering that their enemies were daily increasing, and that they had done much damage to the walls and houses, were afraid of being killed or taken, and held a council on the best means to escape. They defended themselves with greater vigour than before, the better to conceal their intentions; and when the besiegers were at their dinner in their tents and pavilions, and they had seen their guard posted at one of the gates, they mounted their horses fully armed,—and, having had the gates thrown open, all except three, who were asleep or too negligent, sallied out full gallop, sticking spurs into their horses, and made with all speed for the forest near the town.

The besiegers were astonished on seeing this, and, pushing aside their tables, mounted instantly to pursue them, and followed with

such haste that they took about forty of them, —and the rest saved themselves by dint of speed. The royalists returned to the town with their prisoners, and found there the three negligent Armagnacs and some other wretches of their party, who, by the command of the bailiff of the Vermandois, were sent to prison; and when he had heard their confession, they were by him sentenced to be beheaded. The bailiff then set out for Laon, whither he carried the other prisoners, well bound, there to suffer a similar punishment.

The lord de Vervins remained in his town to put it into repair, and the lord de Chin and the rest went to their homes.

A few days after, the castle of Gersies, which was very strong, was taken by some of the army of sir Clugnet de Brabant, namely, by sir Simon de Clermont, a captain called Millet d'Autre, and others, who won it one morning by storm. But shortly after, the bailiff of the Vermandois, with some of the aforesaid lords and a large body of the commonalty, regained it by assault. Sir Simon and Millet d'Autre, with their companions, were all made prisoners, carried to Laon, and beheaded. The castle was new garrisoned for the king.

CHAP. VIII.

THE KING OF FRANCE RECEIVES CERTAIN INFORMATION THAT HIS ADVERSARIES HAD FORMED AN ALLIANCE WITH THE KING OF ENGLAND.—THE CONSTABLE MARCHES INTO THE BOULONOIS.

DURING the residence of the king of France at Sens in Burgundy, he received positive intelligence, that the dukes of Berry, Orleans, Bourbon, and their confederates, had formed an alliance with the king of England, who had engaged to send a large army to their assistance, to lay waste his kingdom,—and that part of it had already marched from Calais and the other castles on the frontiers of the Boulonois, and commenced the war.

They had carried away much plunder, and had set fire to the town of Merck on the sea-shore, thus infringing the truces which subsisted between them.

In consequence of this inroad, the king of France ordered his constable, the count de St Pol, to march thither, to assemble all the nobles of Picardy, and to garrison and victual

the frontier towns, and to use every diligence in opposing the further progress of the English; for the duke of Burgundy had carried with him all the youth, and the most warlike men, from the countries of the Boulonois, Ponthieu, and Artois, leaving behind only the superannuated and such as were unable to bear arms.

The constable, hearing of the mischiefs the English were doing, more of his own free will than in obedience to the king's, hastened to Paris, laying all other matters aside, with the borgne de la Heuse and some other knights whom he left there, at the earnest entreaties of the Parisians, to carry on the war against Dreux. He went then to Picardy and to St Pol, to visit his lady; thence he went to St Omer and to Boulogne, inspecting the whole frontier, and providing necessaries where wanted. The whole country was now alarmed and in motion, insomuch that the English retired worsted; but they very soon recommenced their warfare.

When the constable saw this, and that they did not abstain, he held a council of his principal officers, such as the lord d'Offemont, the lord de Canny, the lord de Lovroy, sir Philip de Harcourt and others. At the

conclusion of it, he assembled a body of men at arms, to the amount of fifteen hundred, whom he put under the command of the lord de Lovroy and one called Alin Quentin, and ordered them to march toward the town and castle of Guines. As they approached the place on foot, the constable sent off, by another road, forty helmets under sir John de Renty, who was well acquainted with all the avenues to the town, to make a pretence of attacking it on that side, which was only inclosed with a palisade and ditch, and garrisoned with Dutchmen and other soldiers who resided there.—The constable, with six hundred combatants, advanced between the town and Calais, to guard that road, and to prevent the English, should they hear of the attack, from sending any considerable reinforcements. Thus did he remain between his two battalions so long as the engagement lasted. The infantry, at day-break, began the storm with courage, and continued it a long time, until they had succeeded in setting the town on fire, so that upward of sixty houses were burnt.—Those in the castle defended themselves valiantly, and much annoyed the assailants with stones and arrows shot from

their cross-bows. Perceiving the distress of the townsmen, they opened a gate of the castle to receive them,—and thus they escaped death. By the advice of the said marshal de Renty, his division made a retreat to where they had commenced the attack, but not without many being severely wounded: few, however, were killed. The constable, when informed of their retreat, made it known to the whole army, and returned to Boulogne, but leaving garrisons along the whole frontier, who daily had some skirmishes with the English.

CHAP. IX.

THE KING OF FRANCE LAYS SIEGE TO FONTENAY AND TO BOURGES.——THE EVENTS THAT HAPPENED WHILE HE REMAINED THERE.

The king of France having remained some days at Sens, and having held many councils on the state of his realm, marched thence to Auxerre, and to la Charité on the Loire,

where he staid five days. He then advanced toward a strong castle called Fontenay, in the possession of the Armagnacs, who, on seeing the great force of the king, instantly surrendered it, on condition of having their lives and fortunes saved. Several captains, who had commanded on the frontiers against the Armagnacs, entered it,—and the army of the king was greatly increased by troops daily arriving from all quarters. In the number of those that came were the lord de Heilly, Enguerrand de Bournouville, the lord de Vitry and others.

The king marched from Fontenay to the town of Dun-le-Roi in Berry, where he encamped, and had it besieged by his army on all sides, and well battered by his engines. During this siege, Hector, bastard-brother to the duke of Bourbon, with only three hundred men, made an attack on a body of the king's army when foraging, and killed and took many. After this exploit, he hastened back to Bourges, and told the dukes of Berry and Bourbon of his success.

Dun-le-Roi was so much harrassed by the cannon and engines of the besiegers that, on the ninth day, the garrison offered to surrender, on condition of their lives and fortunes being

spared, and that sir Louis de Corail, lately made seneschal of the Boulonois, should return with his men in safety to the duke of Berry. These terms were accepted, and the town was delivered up to the king. He remained there for three days, and then departed with his army, leaving sir Gautier de Rubes, a burgundy knight, governor of the town. The king and his army were quartered, on Friday the 10th day of June, three leagues distant from Dun-le-Roi, at a town near a wood. On the morrow he continued his march, and came before the city of Bourges, which was strong, very populous, and full of every sort of provision and wealth. This city was, in ancient times, the capital of the kingdom of Acquitaine, and is situated on the river Yeure. Through the town, a small rivulet runs from Dun-le-Roi.

The lords within this town, namely, the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, the lord d'Albreth, the count d'Auxerre *, John brother to the duke of Bar, with the inhabitants, showed every appearance of making a strong resistance. There were also in Bourges many who had fled their country, such as the archbishops of Sens

* Louis II. de Châlon, count of Auxerre, son of Louis I. and Mary of Parthenay.

and of Bourges, the bishops of Paris and of Chartres, the lord de Gaucourt, Barbasan, Aubreticourt, le borgne Foucault, and fifteen hundred helmets, or thereabout, and four hundred archers and cross-bowmen.

When the king's army approached, which was estimated and commonly believed to consist of upward of one hundred thousand horse, some few sallied out of the town well armed, shouting, 'Long live the king, and the dukes of Berry and Bourbon!' at the same time falling desperately on the light troops of the van, so that very many were killed and wounded on each side; but the main army, advancing, soon forced them to retreat.

When they had re-entered the town, they set the gates wide open, and gallantly made preparations for defence. The van of the king's army was commanded by the grand master of the household, sir Guichard Daulphin, and the lords de Croy and de Heilly, knights, Aymé de Vitry and Enguerrand de Bournouville, esquires. The lords de Croy and de Heilly, in the absence of the marshals of France, Boucicaut and de Longny, were ordered by the king to exercise the functions of marshals.

The rear division was commanded by the lords d'Arlay, sir John de Châlon, the lord de Vergy, marshal of Burgundy, the lords de Ront and de Raisse.

In the king's battalion were the dukes of Acquitaine, Burgundy, and Bar, the counts de Mortain and de Nevers, the lord Gilles de Bretagne, and a numerous body of chivalry. When the army arrived on the plain in front of the city, they were from three to four hours in arranging their places of encampment, and in dividing the army under the different commanders. Then, near to a gibbet, were created more than five hundred knights, who, with many others, had never before displayed their banners. After this ceremony, the army was advanced nearer to the town, and encamped on the marshes on the side of the small river before mentioned, and other flat grounds.—Some tents and pavilions were pitched among vineyards, and by the ruins of the houses belonging to the priory of St Martin des Champs, of the order of Cluny, and others near to part of the suburbs which had been destroyed by the inhabitants prior to the arrival of the king's army, and among the large walnut-trees adjoining.

It is true, that some from thirst drank water from wells without the town; but whoever did so died suddenly, so that the wickedness and treachery of the besieged were discovered. It was proclaimed by sound of trumpet, that no one should in future drink any well-water, but alway make use of spring or running water, for that the wells had been poisoned. The besieged afterward confessed, that an herb called Ισατις by the Greeks, and by the Latins *Glastum*, had been thrown into the wells, to cause the deaths of all who should drink out of them.

Though the townsmen could not now pass the marches and cross the fords as usual from fear of the besiegers, they had, by another road, free communication with the country, so that all manner of provision could be brought into the town, to the great vexation of the lords in the king's army.

The besiegers had now approached pretty near to the town, and had brought their artillery to bear on it, so that, from the continued cannonading and shooting from cross-bows, they slew many of their adversaries.

The townsmen frequently insulted them by their abuse, calling them false burgundian

traitors, who had brought the king thither confined in his tent, as if he was not sound in mind. They called the duke of Burgundy a treacherous murderer; adding, that they would instantly have opened their gates to the king if he had not been there.

The Burgundians were not behind hand in their replies, retorting on the Armagnacs by calling them false and rebellious traitors to their king, and using various other invectives on each side; but the duke of Burgundy, who heard all their abuse, made no reply whatever, but only thought how he might distress them the more.

On Wednesday the 13th of June, a truce was agreed on between the two parties, at the solicitation of the duke of Berry; but during this time, some of the king's household, incited by treason, sent to the besieged,—'Sally forth: now is the time!' well knowing what they would do. When precisely between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, while the king was in his tent, and the dukes of Acquitaine and Burgundy were reposing, and the greater part of the army disarmed, as not suspecting any thing, about five hundred chosen men at arms sallied out of two gates of the town, and

marched on as secretly as they could through vineyards and by-paths to avoid being seen, with the intent of surprising and taking the king and the duke of Acquitaine, in their tents, and putting the duke of Burgundy to death.

What they were afraid of happened; for two pages of the lord de Croy, riding their coursers to exercise and to water, perceived this body of five hundred marching toward the army, and instantly galloped back again, bawling out, 'To arms! here are the enemies advancing, who have sallied out of their town.' On hearing this, every one hastened to his tent, and armed. The vanguard drew up in array, and soon met the enemy. The engagement immediately commenced; but the Armagnacs were overpowered by their adversaries, who increased every moment, so that they could not withstand them. Six score were soon killed, and about forty made prisoners: the rest took disgracefully to flight, making all haste back to Bourges, led on by the lord de Gaucourt.

Among the slain were Guillaume Batiller, who had been taken at the battle of St Cloud, and set at liberty, and Guillaume de Challus, knight, whose bodies, when stripped, were

thrown into the wells said to have been poisoned, to serve them for a grave. In the number of prisoners were the grand master of the household of the duke of Berry, an esquire of the lord d'Albreth, and also his principal cook, called Gastard, who declared in the presence of several, that he would name those who had urged them to make this attempt.

In consequence, on the morrow were arrested master Geoffry de Bouillon, secretary to the duke of Acquitaine, and the family of the lord de Boissay, first maistre d'hôtel to the king,—and afterward one called Gilles de Toisy, esquire, a native of Beauvais, his servant, and Enguerrand de Seure, esquire, a Norman, who were all on this account beheaded before the king's tent; but as the lord de Boissay was only suspected, and no proof brought to convict him, he was imprisoned, and made to witness the punishment of the others.

There were a body of English and French in the king's army, consisting of about three hundred, under the command of Aymé de Vitry, two hundred of whom one day deserted; but, as they were making for the town, they were so closely pursued that numbers of them were slain by lances, swords and arrows,

before they could enter the gates. One half of the garrison of Gien-sur-Loire, consisting of about four hundred helmets, attempted, on the 19th of June, to enter the city; but, before they could accomplish it, having been observed by the besiegers, they were so vigorously attacked that from one hundred to six score were killed.

During the time the king was at this siege of Bourges, the foragers were almost daily cut off by the ambuscades of the enemy, they themselves and their horses being slain or taken; and as they were obliged to seek forage at the distance of six or eight leagues, the army suffered much from famine. Moreover, the waggons that brought provision from Burgundy and other parts, were way-laid by the soldiers of Sancerre, and other places in rebellion against the king, and plundered: this caused great distress to the besiegers, and very many were disheartened from want of bread. However it lasted not long, for by the vigilance of sir Guichard Daulphin, he met the garrison of Sancerre convoying provision to the town of Bourges, when he attacked them, and forced them to surrender the town and castle of Sancerre, which had been more active than

any others in preventing forage being brought to the camp; and thus all dread of famine was removed.

Toward the end of June, about sun-set, four hundred men at arms made a sally from the town, induced thereto by the information of some of their prisoners, that the provost of Paris, the admiral of France, and the vidame d'Amiens, were coming to the camp with a large sum of money from Paris to the king, to enable him to pay his troops. In the hope of defeating and plundering the above, they rode on and posted themselves in a wood, the more readily to surprise them. Intelligence of this was however carried to the lord de Ront, by some of his spies who had observed them march out of the town; and he instantly made the duke of Lorraine and the lord de Heilly acquainted therewith. They collected about five hundred men at arms, under pretence of a foraging party, and, leaving the camp, crossed the river by an old bridge which they repaired as well as they could, and took up their quarters in a small vineyard, whence, during the night, they sent off scouts to observe the situation of the enemy. They were found in ambuscade, thinking to take the king's

treasure, but were themselves taken,—for no sooner were these lords informed where they were than they instantly attacked them, and killed and took many: among the latter was a gentleman named Guistardon de Seure: the rest saved themselves by flight.

The duke of Lorraine and the lords de Ront and de Heilly returned to the camp with their prisoners, much rejoiced at their victory. The duke of Berry, and those with him in Bourges, were much grieved at this defeat, and others of a similar nature; for he saw with pain his country ruined, and daily witnessed the deaths of his most valiant knights and esquires. He nevertheless did not slacken in his endeavours to defend himself against all who wished to hurt him,—and it frequently happened that his men retaliated severely on the besiegers.

While these things were passing, sir Philip de Lignac, grand master of Rhodes, who had attended the king, exerted himself at various times to bring about a peace between the two parties. The count de Savoye had also sent his marshal, and some of his principal knights, to the king and to the duke of Berry, to attempt the same thing. They, therefore, united in their endeavours, and, by permission

of the king and of the duke of Acquitaine, who acted as his lieutenant, they had interviews with each party. By their diligence, a conference was appointed to be holden; and there were added to them as commissioners, the master of the cross-bows, the seneschal of Hainault and some others.

The commissioners on the part of the Armagnacs were the archbishop of Bourges, the lord de Gaucourt, the lord de Tignonville, the lord de Barbasan, the lord d'Aubreticourt and others, who diligently exerted themselves on each side to bring a treaty to a conclusion. They had frequent consultations on the subject with the different princes of each party; but in fact it was not a matter speedily to be finished, for each of the parties was too much interested and suspicious. It was strongly remonstrated that the besieged had, during a truce, made a treacherous attack on the army; and many arguments were urged by both sides, which greatly retarded the conclusion of a peace.

CHAP. X.

THE KING OF FRANCE DECAMPS, AND LAYS SIEGE TO BOURGES ON THE OPPOSITE SIDE. —A TREATY IS CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES.

WHEN the king of France had remained with his army for sixteen months before the city of Bourges, on the side toward la Charité sur Loire, without any hope of taking it, and had perceived the town was well supplied with provision on the side opposite to his camp, he broke up the siege, and ordered fire to be set to all his quarters. He marched away, and again encamped on the right of the city, about four leagues distant, on the river, and near to Yeure-le-Châtel.

The besieged, seeing their adversaries thus suddenly decamp, thought it was done from fear of the English, who had promised them their aid, and that they were marching back to France. They were consequently much rejoiced, and some of them sallied forth, with a multitude of peasants, in the

expectation of making prisoners,—but it happened otherwise than they looked for.

Enguerrand de Bournouville had, with some other captains, remained behind, with about three hundred men at arms in ambuscade, and, when they saw it was time, issued forth, killed many, and made more prisoners, and returned to the king's army.

On the morrow, the king and his whole army crossed the river. One division advanced toward Bourges, and another to Orleans, to despoil and waste the country in the same manner as they had done on the opposite side. The townsmen of Bourges, observing the army to cross the river, hastily set fire to the suburbs on that side, which were very extensive, to prevent the enemy from occupying them, and some churches were also burnt: the more the pity.

The king encamped his army round the city on that side, and had his cannons and engines pointed in such wise as effectually to annoy the place. The besieged were not idle in providing for their defence, and the means of preventing the city from being taken, but were very much grieved and cast down at the great damage which had been done to it.

The duke of Acquitaine, son and lieutenant to the king, saw with regret the destruction of so noble a city, the capital of Auvergne and Berry, and to which he was heir, and, fearing its total ruin, forbade the cannoneers, and those who had the direction of the other engines, to fire any balls, or to cast more stones into it, under pain of death. The duke of Burgundy, on hearing these orders, which counteracted his wish to push matters to extremity, was much displeased and surprised, and suspected the duke of Acquitaine had changed his opinion, or was moved with compassion toward his enemies: however, in the conversation that passed between them on the subject, the duke of Acquitaine declared positively, that he would put an end to the war. The duke of Burgundy most earnestly begged of him, that if he were determined upon it, he would conclude it according to the terms that had been agreed to by the king's ministers at Paris, namely, that if their adversaries should present themselves with all humility before the king, and submit themselves to his mercy, he would receive them, but entreated that any terms he should make might not be to his dishonour.

The duke of Acquitaine replied, that in truth the war had lasted too long; that it was prejudicial to the king and kingdom, and that he in the end might suffer from it,—for those against whom the war was made were his uncles, cousins-german, and others of his kindred, by whom he should be greatly assisted in any cases of need,—but he was desirous that they should submit themselves in the manner proposed in council before he had left Paris.

The duke of Burgundy, in consequence of this and other conversations, humbled himself much toward the duke of Acquitaine; for he had discovered that the business had been discussed with some other great lords, of whom he was very suspicious, and particularly of the duke of Bar, who had, for some time past, clearly shown he was displeased with him. He, however, told the duke of Acquitaine publicly, that he was satisfied that the negotiations for a peace should be continued according to the good pleasure and honour of the king and himself.

The commissioners were, therefore, ordered to renew the conferences, which they willingly obeyed. When they had reduced to writing

the demands and answers of the two parties, they requested of the princes on each side, that the dukes of Berry and Burgundy might meet and conclude the treaty; and this was agreed to by the king and the duke of Acquitaine, and the leaders of the opposite party.

An elevated place was fixed and well secured for the meeting of the uncle and nephew, for neither of them had much confidence in the other. It was for this reason that barriers were erected on a platform, on which the dukes entered at separate ends, having bars between them, and their council behind, whom they occasionally consulted as to the demands and answers.

For greater security, a body of their men at arms was stationed near to each, but not so near as to hear any conversation that passed.—They were both completely and handsomely armed. The duke of Berry, notwithstanding he was seventy years of age, wore a sword, dagger, and battle-axe: he had on a steel scull-cap, and a rich clasp on his breast,—over his armour a purple jacket, the cross belt of which was bespangled with pearls. After they had been two hours together, they separated, to outward appearance, in good humour; but

the duke of Berry said peevishly to the duke of Burgundy, 'Fair nephew and fair godson, when your father, my dear brother, was living, there was no need of any barriers between us: we were alway on the most affectionate terms.' The duke of Burgundy replied, 'My lord, it has not been my fault.' The duke of Berry then mounted his horse, and returned, with his attendants, to Bourges,—and the duke of Burgundy, in like manner, to the camp.

The knights of the duke of Burgundy, on their return, said, that those of the duke of Berry, in their common conversations, declared themselves no way rebellious nor disaffected to the king; that their lord had been for some time very unwell, and unable to command them; that had he been otherwise, he would not so long have left the death of his nephew unpunished; that in regard to their having burnt, taken, and destroyed several towns and castles, in different parts of the kingdom, such as St Denis and Roye, which they had plundered, they replied, that as their lords were of the blood-royal, they had a right to lead their men at arms through any towns in the realm, on their personal wars, for that they had very just cause for attacking the

duke of Burgundy, and that in so doing they committed no offence against the king; but, in regard to having refused to open the gates of the city of Bourges when the king came in person before it, they confessed themselves guilty of contempt, for which they humbly asked his pardon, as was stated in the treaty, and offered him the keys of the town.

On the Wednesday following, the two dukes again met, with their counsellors, at the barriers in front of the city-gate, and renewed their conference. When it was concluded, they drank wine together, and separated very joyfully. On the next day, all the nobles and knights of the army assembled before the tent of the duke of Acquitaine, who appeared in state as the representative of the king. He was attended by the dukes of Bar and Lorraine, and many others of high rank.

The chancellor of Acquitaine, sir John de Neelle, knight and licentiate of law, and of great eloquence, then recited most notably all the different acts of rebellion committed by John de Berry, Charles d'Orleans, John de Bourbon, John d'Alençon, Bernard d'Armagnac and Charles d'Albreth, and

their adherents, declaring their alliance with the king of England, the king's adversary, and detailing all the destruction they had brought on the kingdom,—concluding a long speech by demanding, by orders of the king and of his son the duke of Acquitaine, that every person should now promptly deliver his opinion, whether there should be peace or war.

Many replied, that it were better peace should be made with the above lords, and that they should be reinstated in the king's favour, than otherwise, provided the peace were a solid one; but others were of a contrary opinion,—and thus ended this meeting, which caused much murmuring. It is true, that at this time the heat of the weather was excessive, and great sickness prevailed in the army, insomuch that very many, hearing daily of the deaths of their companions, departed without taking leave. There was a great mortality among the horses, and the stench of their carcases much infected the camp.

CHAP. XI.

THE PRINCES AND LORDS WITHIN THE CITY OF BOURGES WAIT ON THE KING AND THE DUKE OF ACQUITAINE, AND AFTERWARD AT AUXERRE.

On Friday the 15th day of July, when all things had been settled, the dukes of Berry and of Bourbon, the lord d'Albreth, the count d'Eu *, the lord John de Bar, brother to the duke of Bar, accompanied by many knights and esquires bearing their banners, came forth of the city toward the king's army, and entered the tent of the duke of Acquitaine, who was surrounded by many nobles, such as the dukes of Burgundy and Bar, and other knights and esquires, the king being afflicted with his usual disorder.

After the treaty had been read and agreed to, each kissed the other; but when the duke

* Charles d'Artois, count of Eu, son to the constable d'Eu (who died in Turkey 1397) and to Mary daughter of the duke of Berry. He married twice, but had no issue, and in him ended the royal branch of Artois, commencing in Robert the good count d'Artois, who was killed in Egypt in the year 1250, when accompanying his brother St Louis.

of Berry kissed his nephew the duke of Acquitaine, tears ran down his cheeks. This treaty contained, among other articles, that the treaty which had been concluded at Chartres by the king and his council, between Charles duke of Orleans and his brothers, respecting the death of their late father, Louis duke of Orleans, on the one part, and John duke of Burgundy on the other, for being an accomplice in the aforesaid death, should be kept inviolable for ever; and that the marriage formerly proposed between one of the brothers of the Orleans family and a daughter of the duke of Burgundy should take effect.

The other articles declared, that the duke of Berry and the lords of his party should surrender to the obedience of the king all such towns and castles as the king might demand; and the duke entreated, that the king would excuse and pardon him for not having before submitted to his obedience the city of Bourges.

And also, that the aforesaid lords would renounce all confederations which had been made between them, as well as all foreign alliances against the duke of Burgundy, who in like manner was to renounce the alliances he might have formed against them.

That the king would restore to them, fully and completely, all their towns, castles and forts which he might have taken, excepting such as had been demolished or razed, which were to remain in their present state. The articles also declared, that the officers of the aforesaid lords who had been deprived of their places should be reinstated.

When they had dined, the duke of Berry presented the keys of the city of Bourges to the duke of Acquitaine, as the representative of the king, and then returned thither with his companions. The duke of Acquitaine caused the peace to be proclaimed throughout the army and country in the king's name, acting as his lieutenant. By the same proclamation, it was most strictly ordered, that henceforth no one of either party should personally abuse another, either corporally or in his fortune, nor use any opprobrious language, nor call any one by the names of Armagnac or Burgundian.

On Saturday, the 16th day of the same month, king Louis of Sicily came from his possessions in Anjou and Maine, escorted by three thousand two hundred men at arms, knights and esquires, and accompanied by the

count de Penthievre with his Bretons, to assist the king in his siege of Bourges. The king of Sicily was very much rejoiced when he was informed of the peace that had been concluded with the princes; and on the morrow, attended by the duke of Bar and a number of other knights, he went into the city, and was there magnificently entertained at dinner by the duke and duchess of Berry.

The other lords dined in the duke's palace, and were grandly and plentifully served: after dinner, they all returned to the camp. On the ensuing Wednesday, the king of France decamped from before the town, having remained there, at this second siege, forty days, at an immense expense, and with his whole army marched back, the way they had come, to la Charité sur Loire, where he was lodged. Thither came the dukes of Berry and of Bourbon, and the lord d'Albreth, with the commissioners from the duke of Orleans and his brothers, who, in the tent of the duke of Acquitaine, and in his presence and in that of the principal lords, made oath on the holy evangelists punctually and faithfully to observe the peace that had been concluded at Bourges. They promised to swear the same in the

presence of the king; and as the duke of Orleans and his brothers were absent, they solemnly engaged that they would meet the king, to take this oath personally before him, on any appointed day, at Auxerre: when this was done, they returned home. The peace was again proclaimed by the king's orders; and all persons were strictly enjoined, whatever might be their rank, not to molest each other in body or estate, and not to use any defamatory language, or call any one by the name of Armagnac.

After this, the king of Sicily, the dukes of Acquitaine, Burgundy, and Bar, and all the princes, counts, barons and chivalry, departed. The king retained with him a great body of the captains of his army, and their men at arms, and gave permission for all the rest to return to their homes. He went thence to Auxerre, and was lodged in the episcopal palace: the king of Sicily and the duke of Acquitaine were quartered in the town, and their men in the adjacent villages. The lord Gilles de Bretagne, on his arrival at Auxerre, died of a dysentery.

In like manner, the count de Mortain, brother to the king of Navarre, lost his life

either at Auxerre or at Sancerre from the same disorder. His body was carried to Paris, and interred in the church of the Carthusians. Aymé de Vitry, sir John de Guistelle, John d'Jcquennie, and several others, died on their road home; and this disorder was so fatal that from one thousand to twelve hundred knights and esquires, not including varlets, died of it, as it was reported to the lords in Auxerre.

When the marshal de Boucicaut, the count de Foix and the lord de St George, who were carrying on the war against the count d'Armagnac, heard that peace was concluded between the king and his enemies, they disbanded their army, and gave permission for all to return home.

During the time the king was at Auxerre, he had summoned the greater part of his nobles and prelates thither, as well as the chief citizens of the great towns, to witness the solemn swearing to the observance of the peace. But before they could arrive, other intelligence was brought, which was far from being agreeable, namely, that the English were at anchor, with their whole navy, before the town of la Hogue de St Vas, in the country of Coutantin; that they

had made a descent, and spread themselves over the adjacent countries, destroying or plundering every thing they could find, and that their numbers amounted to about eight thousand, of whom two thousand were men at arms, and the rest archers or infantry, and that they were under the command of the duke of Clarence, second son to the king of England.

These English had landed in consequence of the treaty between the dukes of Berry and Orleans and their allies, and the king of England, and were on their march to assist in raising the siege of Bourges. The counts of Alençon and of Richemont went to meet them, and received them most joyfully, although they had come too late to do them any effectual service; but, notwithstanding this, they exerted themselves to the utmost to supply them with horses and provision.

This force was much increased by the junction of six hundred gascon helmets that had likewise been subsidized by the confederates at Bourges. When these forces were united, they overran the country, and committed great destruction.

The prisoners confined at Lille, as before mentioned, consisted of the lord de Hangest,

formerly master of the cross-bows of France, sir Louis de Bourdon, sir Charles de Gerammes, Enguerrand des Fontaines, and some others. They were all set at liberty by the count de la Marche, on each paying a large ransom to the person who had made him prisoner; and in like manner were all others delivered, by exchange or by ransom.

About the feast of the Assumption of our Lady, those who had been summoned by the king of France arrived at Auxerre. In their number, the Parisians came in great pomp; and the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, and the lord d'Albreth, also attended. The lord d'Albreth, soon after his arrival, wished to resume the office of constable; but the count Waleran de St Pol would not suffer him, and exercised it himself. Many high words passed between them; and the lord d'Albreth, having taken the oaths of peace, retired much displeased and indignant.

On the ensuing Monday, the duke of Orleans and his brother, the count de Vertus, came to Auxerre, escorted by about two thousand combatants. When all the lords were arrived, they assembled on an extensive plain without the city, near to a convent of

nuns, where had been erected a handsome scaffolding, richly adorned, on which was the duke of Acquitaine, as representative of his father, the king of Sicily, the dukes of Burgundy, of Bar, and others.

The duke of Burgundy and his party repeated the oaths they had before taken, as also did the duke of Orleans and his friends; and the same proposal of marriage as had been made at Chartres was again solemnly agreed to take place, between the count de Vertus and a daughter of the duke of Burgundy, on the terms before mentioned.

The aforesaid lords then publicly renounced all confederations and alliances which they had formed with Henry king of England, with his sons, or with any others of the english nation, enemies to France, the duke of Burgundy having before declared that he had no connexion with them;—and they agreed to write such letters to the king of England as the king and his council should advise.

They also promised and swore to renew their oaths respecting the observance of this peace in the king's presence, so soon as he should have recovered his health,—for at that time he had had a relapse,—and to sign such

papers as he would please, that they would never again form any confederations or alliances against each other; and that if either of them should attempt to infringe the articles of this peace, the others would unite against him or them to enforce their due observance, and oblige them to listen to reason.

At this ceremony, by orders of the king, were some of the members of the parliament, of the chamber of accounts, and of the university of Paris, the provosts of Paris and of the merchants, the sheriffs and some of the principal citizens, to many of whom this treaty was not very agreeable.

There were also present, in consequence of the king's summons, very many from Rouen, Caen, Amiens, Tournay, Laon, Rheims, Troyes, Langres, Tours, and from the chief towns in the kingdom.

When this solemnity was over, all the great lords went to dine with the duke of Acquitaine at his lodgings. At this entertainment, which was most splendid and abundant, the duke of Burgundy served, and the counts de Nevers and de St Pol, assisted by other noble knights, carried the dishes. After they had dined, the company amused themselves by playing at

divers games. These being ended, towards dusk all retired to their lodgings. On the morrow, and for several days following, they continued feasting together, and, according to all outward appearances, were in great harmony with each other. Even the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy rode out together, both on the same horse, in company with other lords, and showed such mutual affection as is becoming brothers and near relations. Nevertheless, some wicked tongues were not sparing of them behind their backs, but loudly spoke their minds.

With regard to the people, they were in such crowds that it need not be asked if they were pleased,—for they continually shouted out, 'Gloria in excelsis Deo,' as if they wished to praise the gloriousness of the heavens. It indeed seemed to them a kind of miracle that such bitter hatred as had existed between these great lords should be so speedily appeased.

When every thing was concluded, and because this epidemic disorder raged at Auxerre, the king and princes departed, and went by Sens to Melun, where great feasts and entertainments, with justings and dancings, were held by the queen and her court, for joy of the happy reconciliation that had taken place between

the princes of the blood royal. In truth, while the king resided at Melun, he recovered his health, and then, at the entreaties of the queen, his daughter, the dukes of Acquitaine and Burgundy, and of the king of Sicily, he approved of and ratified the treaty of peace that had been made. In consequence, he delivered up all the castles, towns and lands, which he had seized on account of the rebellion of his nephews and other lords, as well secular as ecclesiastic, and restored them to their free possession. Thus they re-entered their towns and castles, but without any restitution for the damages which had been done to them: several of them had been nearly destroyed; and the vineyards, forests and other lands, had suffered greatly, with various mischiefs that had been done to the farms. That this peace might be publicly known, and that no one might plead ignorance, but that it should remain for ever inviolate, the king issued the following edict.

CHAP. XII.

THE KING OF FRANCE ORDERS HIS EDICT RESPECTING THE PEACE TO BE SENT TO HIS DIFFERENT OFFICERS FOR PROCLAMATION IN THE USUAL PLACES,——AND OTHER MATTERS.

'CHARLES, by the grace of God, king of France, to the bailiff of Amiens, or to his lieutenant, greeting.—Among the heavy and continued anxieties which we always feel for the preservation of our crown and kingdom, the warmest wish we have is to nourish love and affection among our subjects, and to guard them from all oppressions and other inconveniences which are consequent on civil commotions, that they may live under us in perfect tranquillity. Whereas many very serious discords and divisions have arisen within our realm between several of the princes of our royal blood, their adherents and allies, which have caused great mischiefs to ensue, to the detriment of our faithful subjects; and others still more disastrous might have followed, had we not provided

a sufficient remedy. These discords have occasioned to us the utmost grief of heart; and for this reason we make known to thee, that, through the grace of the sovereign King of kings, our Creator and Saviour, and the Giver of all peace; and through the diligent exertions of our very dear and well-beloved son the duke of Acquitaine, dauphin of Vienne, and others who have laboured with him, we have concluded a sound peace with the aforesaid princes, our kindred, and their confederates, in the manner and form expressed in the treaty drawn up for this purpose.

'By this treaty all rancour and malevolence between one party and another are extinguished, and the princes aforesaid have solemnly sworn on the holy evangelists, in the presence of our very dear son, many prelates and other persons, that they will strictly observe every article of it, and no way infringe it, according to the oaths which they had before taken on a similar occasion.

'For this reason, we therefore enjoin, and most strictly command, thee to proclaim this peace in all the squares and public places of Amiens, by sound of trumpet, and then to make proclamation of the same in all the

villages and other places within thy bailiwick, particularly ordering all our subjects most faithfully to keep this peace, under pain of our highest displeasure, and of being criminally guilty towards our royal person, forbidding any person, whatever may be their rank, in our name, in any wise to offend against any of its articles, on pain of being corporally punished, with confiscation of property.

'We, moreover, enjoin thee, that thou do punish most severely and publicly, according to the exigency of the case, any who shall be found violating this peace in any degree whatever, either by word or deed, who may be regularly accused before thee, so that it may serve as an example to all others.

'Given at Melun, in the year of Grace 1412, and in the 32d of our reign.'—Signed by the king from the report made to him by the council held by my lords the dukes of Acquitaine, Berry, Burgundy, Orleans and Bourbon, the counts of Vertus and Alençon, and John de Bar, with others present at it. Countersigned, 'Emau, inspector.'

The English, during this time, had advanced, from the Coutantin, into the countries of Maine and Touraine, despoiling

the districts they marched through with fire and sword. A grand council was held on this subject at Melun, presided by the duke of Acquitaine as the king's *locum tenens*, and at which were present the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Orleans and Bourbon, the count de Vertus, the chancellors of France, Acquitaine, and of Orleans, the lords de Torsy, d'Offemont, with others, the provost of the merchants, the sheriffs and council of Paris,—when it was ordered, that all persons capable of bearing arms, noble or not, should assemble, properly equipped at Chartres, on the 8th day of October ensuing; at which time and place, they should receive pay for the defence of the realm, and to drive the ancient enemies of France out of the kingdom. This edict was copied, and sent to the principal seneschalships and bailiwicks of France sealed with the royal seal, by the aforesaid princes, that a sufficient force might be provided against the 8th day of October.

The Parisians, as being more nearly affected, hastened to raise their levies of men at arms and archers at Paris or at Melun,—and others in the adjacent countries. Every one, on the receipt of the king's edict, assembled

his quota. Had the duke of Berry and those of his party kept the engagements they had made with the English, and paid them the large sum of two hundred thousand crowns, according to their promises, they were ready to return to England, either through Acquitaine or Bourdeaux; but from the melancholy state of the country, they were unable to raise this sum by any means they could offer,—and thus their terms not being fulfilled, the English thought they might pay themselves.

The king of Sicily returned, however, to Anjou, to raise men for the defence of his territories, whither the English were fast advancing.

In these days, the duke of Acquitaine reinstated the eldest son of the late grand master Montagu in his office of chamberlain, and obtained, through his entreaties with the king, that all his estates should be restored, which ought to have descended to him by right of inheritance, so that, with the exception of some trifling confiscations, he regained all the patrimony he would have inherited from his father and mother.

He obtained likewise the head of his father; and one evening, about vespers, the provost of

Paris, with his executioner, attended by twelve guards, or thereabout, holding lighted torches and carrying a ladder, followed by a priest dressed in his robes, came to the market-place, when the executioner mounted the ladder to where the head of the late grand master had been fixed to the end of a lance, and, taking it off, delivered it to the priest, who received it in a handsome napkin. Thus wrapped up, he placed it on his shoulder, and carried it, attended by these lighted torches, to the hôtel of the late Montagu, grand master of the king's household.

The body was in like manner taken down from the gibbet at Montfaucon, in the presence of the provost, by his hangman, and brought to Paris. It was there joined to the head, placed in a handsome coffin, and carried in great state, attended by his children, and a numerous party of friends, with priests chaunting, and a vast number of lighted torches, to the church of the Celestins at Marcoussy, which he had founded and endowed in his lifetime and made a convent of monks, and there honourably interred. Among other gifts which he had made when alive was the great bell, called St Catherine, to

the church of Nôtre Dame at Paris, as appears from his arms and crest that are upon it.

CHAP. XIII.

THE WAR CONTINUES IN THE BOULONOIS.—THE KING RETURNS TO PARIS.—THE DUKE OF ORLEANS SATISFIES THE ENGLISH,—AND OTHER MATTERS.

During this time, king Henry of England sent the earls of Warwick and Kyme, with two thousand combatants, to Calais, whence, with other garrisons, they invaded the Boulonois, and did much mischief. They burnt the town of Saumer-au-Bois, took by storm the fort of Ruissault, pillaging, robbing, and setting fire to every place they came to.

To oppose them, the king ordered to St Omer count Waleran his constable, the lord de Rambures, master of the cross-bows, and the lord de Heilly, with a large body of men at arms, who were posted in the various garrisons,—and thus was the country harrassed on all sides.

At this period, the king of France returned to Paris, and was lodged in his hôtel of Saint Pol, to the great joy of the Parisians, who sang carols in all the streets, lighted bonfires, and had great illuminations, shouting out all night, 'God save the king!' There were, likewise, very magnificent feasts and other entertainments. The king was attended, on his entry into Paris, by the dukes of Acquitaine, Burgundy, Bourbon, and the count de Vertus. The queen, with the dukes of Berry and Orleans, had remained at the castle of Vincennes, and thence, on the Sunday following, made her entry into Paris, and was lodged with the king at the hôtel de St Pol. The duke of Orleans had accompanied her part of the way; but, when he approached Paris, he separated from her, and took the road for his county of Beaumont. The duke of Berry staid at Vincennes.

Although the town of Chauny had been surrendered to the king in perpetuity, he restored it to the duke of Orleans, and, at the same time, granted him permission to raise from his vassals the sum of sixty thousand florins of gold, by way of tax, for his own private use. But he could never succeed in the attempts which he made to regain his two

castles of Coucy and Pierrefons. When he had been at Beaumont a few days, he departed, and went to meet the English under the command of the duke of Clarence, who had landed, as has been said, at his request, and satisfied him fully, as to the pay of his men, so far as was in his power; but as he could not then advance the whole that was due for their pay, the duke of Orleans gave, as a pledge for the due fulfilment of his engagement, his youngest brother, the count of Angoulême, with many other gentlemen, namely, sir Marcel le Borgne, Jean de Saveuses, Archambault de Villiers, Guillaume le Boutillier, Jean David, and others of his dependants. They were all carried away by the duke of Clarence, who retired with his English to Guienne.

The count of Angoulême was pledged for the sum of two hundred and nine thousand francs french money. When the duke of Orleans had concluded this, he returned to Blois; but these bondsmen remained in England a long time, as shall be told hereafter. The duke of Orleans sent some of his most able knights to prevail on the king to restore to him his castles of Coucy and Pierrefons, which were held by the constable; but although the

king granted his letters for the surrender of them, the constable refused to obey, giving for answer, that until he should be repaid the money he had advanced to his men at arms for the conquest of them, he would retain them,—adding, that the king had made him a promise of them, and had nominated sir Gerard de Herbannes governor of Coucy, and of Pierrefons sir Collard de Fiennes. The castle of Pierrefons, which was a very strong and handsome edifice, was one night burnt to the ground, to the great displeasure of the duke,—but as he could not obtain any redress, he was forced to endure it.

The duke of Burgundy, who resided at Paris, to be near the king, about this time caused sir Bourdin de Salligny to be arrested, and carried prisoner to Flanders, where he was confined some time, and then set at liberty. Sir Bourdin had been the particular and confidential friend of the duke; and it was reported, that he was inclined to change sides and turn to that of Orleans, and had even betrayed some of the duke's secrets.

In these days also, some very sharp words passed between the bastard of Bourbon and a butcher of Paris, called Denisot de Chaumont,

when the bastard said to him, 'Peace! hold thy tongue: I shall find thee again another time.' Shortly after, Denisot, who had great weight among his brethren of the trade, collected a large body, and, with other Parisians, they barricaded the streets with chains,—but they were at length appeased by the duke of Burgundy.

John duke of Bourbon, the count d'Armagnac and the lord d'Albreth were ordered by the king and council into Languedoc, to oppose the enterprises of the duke of Clarence and the English, who had fixed their quarters in Acquitaine, and sorely oppressed all who defended the french interest on the frontiers.

CHAP. XIV.

THE DUKE OF BERRY IS DANGEROUSLY ILL.—HE IS VISITED BY HIS DAUGHTER THE DUCHESS OF BOURBON, AND BY THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—NOTICE OF OTHER MATTERS.

THE duke of Berry, who had come to Paris to attend the king his nephew, and a grand

council about to be holden, was taken dangerously ill at his hôtel of Neele; but by the care and affection of his daughter the duchess of Bourbon, who, on hearing of his illness, had come to see him, and by her nursing, he was soon restored to health. He was also very frequently visited by his nephew the duke of Burgundy.

While the duchess of Bourbon was at Paris, she obtained from the king, and from the dukes of Acquitaine and Burgundy, that the body of Binet d'Espineuse, formerly the knight of her lord the duke of Bourbon, should be taken down from the gibbet of Montfaucon, and his head from the market-house, where it had been placed some time since by the king's officers of justice. She had it escorted by many of his friends to the town of Espineuse, in the county of Clermont, where it was honourably interred.

The duke of Burgundy at this time had the sole government of the kingdom, for nothing was done but by his advice or that of his friends.

Notwithstanding it had been promised at the peace of Auxerre, by the king and the princes of the blood, that every one, of whatever

party he might have been, should be reinstated in his property in such offices as had been held by them, very many could not profit of this royal favour; for with all their diligence in suing for reinstatement, they met with nothing but delays, more especially those who had been attached to the Orleans-party. This caused much silent bitterness and discontent; and both sides were busily employed underhand on the means of securing the support of the king and the duke of Acquitaine,—one party making secret attempts to gain the former, the other the latter. Thus, therefore, there was not any sincere love between them; and the war was daily expected to recommence with greater fury than before, as shall be more fully explained.

I shall hereafter, towards the end of this year 1412, lay before you all the letters and treaties that passed between king Henry of England and his children, and other princes, on the one part, and the dukes of Berry, Orleans, Bourbon, the counts d'Alençon, d'Armagnac, the lord d'Albreth, and their adherents, on the other part, and their mutual engagements to each other.

CHAP. XV.

THE KING OF FRANCE HOLDS A GRAND ASSEMBLY AT PARIS ON THE REFORMATION OF ABUSES IN THE GOVERNMENT.—OTHER MATTERS.

THE king of France, by the advice of the duke of Burgundy, summoned the greater part of the princes, prelates, heads of universities, and principal citizens of the great towns, to Paris, to consider on several matters of great importance to the kingdom in general, and more especially respecting the reformation of his ministers, who had for a long time very ill governed the realm.

When this assembly had held many consultations on the subjects laid before it, its members determined that the university of Paris should make their report in the name of all,—which report was delivered to the king, at his hôtel of St Pol, in manner following.

'To our most high and most excellent prince, our sovereign lord and father. Your most humble and devoted daughter the university of Paris, your very submissive and

obedient subjects the provost of the merchants, the sheriffs and citizens of your good town of Paris, lay before you their opinions and advice, as required by you, for the welfare and happiness of yourself and kingdom.

'In the first place, respecting the peace that has been lately concluded between certain princes of your royal blood, according to the terms your majesty has been pleased to lay before us, we say, that all who have sworn solemnly to keep this peace, and have hitherto observed it, ought to continue this same conduct, in pursuance of their intentions sworn to before God: but we think that you should summon certain others of the lords of your blood, and of their principal servants, to swear personally before you to keep the peace; and that for many reasons,—first, because they never yet have taken the said oaths,—secondly, because many among them do not keep the peace.

'It is a notorious fact, that although the English are in your kingdom, and in conjunction with other companies, as well natives as foreigners, daily commit waste on the country, scarcely any attempts have been made to oppose their further progress, and

petitions and clamours arise throughout the realm.

'Item, the count d'Armagnac, who is your subject, pays no regard to the peace; and, so far from observing it, is constantly making war on your more faithful subjects.

'Item, for the better observance of this peace, we recommend that your majesty should cause letters to be drawn up, in which all the articles of the treaty shall be incorporated, and sent to the different officers, or to whomsoever else you may please, with orders to make known all transgressors of them, that they may be punished accordingly.

'With regard to the second point on which you, our sovereign lord, demand our advice, having fully considered all that concerns your own honour and welfare, with every thing that may tend to the prosperity of the kingdom, we feel ourselves obliged to make known to you what we perceive to be defects in your government. We must begin by the bad administration of the public finances, to which you, as king, ought to have caused more faithful attention to be paid. We recommend, in the first place, that the revenues of the royal demesne be divided

into four parts: one to be distributed in alms, another to defray the expenses of your majesty, those of the queen, the duke of Acquitaine, and your household; another to pay the salaries of your officers and servants; another to be applied to the repairs of bridges, roads, mills, castles, causeways, or other public works,—and the overplus to be paid into the king's treasury, as was formerly done.

'Item, it clearly appears, that the finances are not at this present time so regulated, which is the fault of your treasurers, who have the administration of them. The religious of both sexes, as well belonging to convents as to hospitals, are frequently forced to expend their own money on the repairs of their churches, without deriving any assistance from the royal treasury, to their great detriment, to the loss of their personal comforts, the ruin of the churches, and the failure of divine service, to the prejudice of the souls of your predecessors, and to the oppression of your own conscience.

'In regard to alms, it is well known that scarcely any thing is paid; and as to the expenses of yourself, the queen, and the duke of Acquitaine, which are regulated by sir

Pierre de Fontenay, and paid by Raymond Ragnier and Jean Pie, clerks of the exchequer, they are found to amount to four hundred and fifty thousand francs, as well received from the royal demesnes as from other sources; whereas in former times only ninety-two thousand francs were received for this purpose, and your predecessors kept up a royal state, and the tradesmen were regularly paid, notwithstanding the smallness of the sum: but at present this is far from being the case, for the tradesmen are not only unpaid, but your household and those of the queen and the duke of Acquitaine are frequently broken up.

'Even so lately as Thursday last, this disgrace happened to the household of the queen,—whence it appears, that these sums are not employed for your expenses, but wasted at the will of your ministers, and among their favourites, as we shall more fully explain at a proper time and place.

'In former days, the sum raised for the expenses of the queen's household was but thirty-six thousand francs; but at present, one hundred and forty thousand are raised on this account, from taxes independant of the revenues of her demesnes. This difference

proceeds from the fault of the administrators of this department, the principal of whom is Raymond Ragnier, the treasurer; and he has so managed this money destined for the use of the queen that he has purchased large estates, and built fine houses, as may be seen both in town and country. The management of this part of the finances should be examined into; for beside the regular receipt, other sums are demanded by way of extraordinaries.

'Item, there are also great abuses in the offices of the master of your wardrobe, and of the treasury; for those who have the direction receive very large sums of money, and dispose of them otherwise than in the payment of your debts or to your advantage: the salaries of your officers and servants are consequently in arrear, and those who have supplied your table with provision and wine cannot get their money. Of course, these sums must be applied to their own use, as is very apparent from the great state they live in, from the number of their horses and other luxuries,—as in the instance of Raymond Ragnier, who, in purchasing and building, has expended, as it is said, upward of thirty thousand francs.

'Charlot Poupart, master of the wardrobe, and master William Budé, storekeeper, have also made great acquisitions of property, and live at an immense expense, which cannot be done from the salaries of their office, nor from their estates before they had these offices given to them.

'There are likewise great defects in the management of your stables, which is an office of very great receipt, and the prodigious sums that are there expended are not for your honour nor profit.

'Item, in regard to the salaries of the officers of your household, they are very ill paid at the treasury; nor are their payments any way regular, so that they suffer very great poverty, and are unable to appear before you so decently dressed as they would wish. There are, however, some favourites among them that are very well paid.

'With respect to the repairs of your castles, mills and other public works, they are all going to ruin; and as for the overplus that should remain to be paid into your private treasury, there is not at this moment one penny,—although in the days of king Philip, king John, and king Charles, when the receipt

was not any thing like what it is now, there were savings, but the treasury was then far better managed.

'We must likewise observe, that this kind of management of the finances has been continued for nearly thirty years,—and that those who have had the administration of them have no way attended to your honour or profit, or to the good of the kingdom, but solely to their own private emolument.

'It therefore befits your said daughter the university of Paris to lay before you the following facts, that a better administration of your finances may be adopted. In the first place, you have too many treasurers, who have increased since the time before mentioned, from the additional business in the office; and several have forced themselves into it, who before the expiration of the year have been removed to make way for others of more popularity in the country. God knows, they would not be so eager to be admitted into this office, were it not for the plundering daily going on there; and if a treasurer do not yearly gain from four to five thousand francs, he thinks he is badly off. Where formerly there were but two treasurers, there are now

five or six from the great increase of business, and at times there are six or seven. Thus, it is clear as the day, that you lose every year from sixteen to twenty thousand francs, from the bad conduct of your treasurers. When they are admitted to their office, they pay not any attention to the discharge of the necessary disbursements, nor to the oaths they took on admission, but solely to the enormous grants that have been surreptitiously obtained, which are paid from their general receipt.

'In regard to the other offices where the net receipt is paid, it passes through so many hands that immense fortunes are made from the exorbitant fees claimed by the treasurers: these are Andrieu Guiffart, Burel Dampmartin, Regnier de Bouligney, Jean Guerin, and the director Nicolle Bonet, who was clerk to his predecessor in office, Jean Chayf, and the clerk master Guy Bouchier, who are all of them useless and guilty of mismanagement, except Jean Guerin, who has but lately come into the office, and has not as yet misbehaved himself.

'Andrieu Guiffart is particularly culpable for having wasted all the patrimony he had received from his father. He was appointed,

through the influence of the provost of Paris, (who is his cousin by the mother's side) to one of the treasurerships, where he has amassed such sums of money that he wears nothing but sapphires, rubies, and other precious diamonds, with the most costly dresses, and rides the best of horses. He lives in the utmost state with his side-boards covered with plate of every description for ornament and use.

'Item, formerly it was not necessary to have a treasurer for the criminal prosecutions, but only an occasional counsellor; but now there are four counsellors, who receive very large sums to your prejudice.

'In regard to the administration of those taxes called Aides, there are officers appointed for that purpose called Generals, through whose hands pass all that is ordered for the carrying on the wars, amounting, one year with another, to twelve thousand francs. The aforesaid treasurers, by the connivance of these generals, manage the finances very badly; for they commonly obtain their places through the influence of friends, to whom the generals make great gifts, to your loss. The salaries of these generals amount to from two to four thousand francs yearly each; and if a general remain in

office for two years, he will acquire from nine to ten thousand francs, or some such great sum, by private gifts, and which are sometimes levied on the properties of great lords without their knowledge: particulars of such conduct, and false certificates, were discovered during the late inquiries for the reformation of abuses.

'There is also another office, wrongfully called the Treasury of Savings, under the government of Anthony des Essars, for which the sum of about one hundred and twenty thousand francs is taken from the taxes. In former times, this chest for savings was kept under two locks, of which you had one key, to take from it any sum that should be wanting for yourself or your kingdom. Those, however, who now have the management of it have so acted that there is not one penny in the chest, nor is it known who in the world has been bettered by it, excepting the administrators, with the consent of those they found in the office, by drawing out false statements of expenses, to your prejudice.

'Item, this aforesaid Anthony has the keeping of your wardrobe and jewels, and is so negligent that whatever may be wanting for

your dress is bought from day to day, of which he alone is culpable.

'Item, after this comes another office, called the Cofferers, held by Maurice de Rully, who, in general, receives daily ten golden crowns, which he ought to deliver into your hands to spend according to your pleasure; but the coffers are empty, for he has dissipated their contents,—and under shadow of this office, immense sums have been wasted, as shall be spoken of in proper time and place.

'The manner in which you, the queen and the duke of Acquitaine, are pillaged, is easily shown; for when you have need of a speedy sum of money for the war, or for any other urgent necessity, application must be made to certain money-lenders, who, for usury, make a traffic of money, and supply your wants on having your plate and jewels in pawn, and at an exorbitant loss in the interest paid for these loans, insomuch that what may be worth ten thousand francs costs you fifteen or sixteen; and thus your losses are annually very great from these usurious practices and pretended exchanges. You may readily suppose that your officers must be accomplices in this traffic, and that this alone will occasion

such an empty treasury. Your inferior servants are much distressed and ill treated; and in this manner are not only your own affairs but those of the princes of your blood managed, without any exception.

'Item, it is proper that you should be made acquainted with the tricks and deceit of those officers called Generals, in the receipt of your finances. When any receiver shall have lent you a sum amounting to five or six thousand crowns over and above his receipt, he is dismissed from his office, to prevent him from reimbursing himself, and another put in his place, who will receive the whole of the taxes in that department. When, therefore, there shall be little or nothing to receive, he that was dismissed will be replaced in his office, provided he has made sufficient presents to his superior officers. By this means, the aforesaid receiver can neither be paid nor pay what he owes; and thus they ride one on another, to the ruin of your finances,—and you drink your wine sour.

'Item, when there is an ambassador to be sent, or even a simple canon to be dispatched to a foreign country, money for their expenses must be borrowed from usurers; and it frequently

happens that the aforesaid ambassador cannot depart for want of money, which renders the embassy useless, and the kingdom suffers greatly from it.

'Item, it is also necessary that you should know what is become of all the money that for these last two years has been raised, as well from the domains of the crown as from the very numerous and heavy taxes and impositions of all sorts, of which the provost of Paris has, as is notorious, taken on himself the management, and styled himself Director and General Superintendant of the Finances.

'Item, it should likewise be remembered, that other great officers, as well as the provost, have held many offices of importance, which they have sold, and pocketed the amount, to your great disadvantage and contrary to your royal edicts, and also to the prejudice of the kingdom,—for, by this system, ignorant and improper persons are put into the said offices.

'Item, the provost of Paris, who had held for some time the office of grand master of waters and forests, has now resigned it to the lord de Jury, for which six thousand francs have been levied. But beside the provostship of Paris, he holds the government of the town

of Cherbourg and its dependancies, which brings him an annual rent of six thousand francs, with the government of Nemours, amounting to two thousand more. Your income is also ruined by another mode, namely, by the immense number of receivers, treasurers, clerks, comptrollers and other officers, who swallow enormous sums by way of fees, over and above the regular fees of office, of which the provost and his dependants have the greater share, and which they regard as their own personal property, to your great loss, and to the delay of payments to many of your faithful servants, knights, and counsellors of state. It is daily witnessed, that when a young man has been appointed to any of the above offices, however poor his situation may have been before, or how little versed he may be in the management of public affairs, he soon becomes rich, keeps a grand establishment, and purchases large estates and manors, all at your expense.

'There are great frauds committed by your treasurers of the war department, who are accustomed to take from your knights and esquires blank receipts sealed by them, of which they make a very bad use, as they know to their cost: but they can more fully inform you on

this head than we can. It is melancholy to hear their complaints of the delays in the payment of their salaries, which are always much curtailed, at least to the greater part of them. It is consequently now become a rule among your men at arms, when their salary is in arrear, to pay themselves from the countries they are quartered in, saying, that, since they cannot obtain their pay, they must live by their service.

'Item, whenever these directors or superintendants of your finances are called upon, they make answer, that they are ready to produce their accounts, as if that were sufficient, and even go so far as to desire commissioners may be appointed to inspect and examine them; but, under correction, this answer is futile,—and if the real culprits are to be discovered, let their original state, and what substance they possessed before they entered into office, be inquired into,—what the amount of their salaries and fees, how much their reasonable expenditure, and then what is their present income, what estates they possess, and what buildings they have erected. It is notorious, that the superior officers are rich and magnificent, but that they were indigent

before their appointments to office, and that some of them have purchased houses of great value, namely, master Jean Chastegnier, Guillaume Luce, and Nicaise Bouses. To say the truth, every loyal subject must be astonished and grieved at heart when he witnesses such management, that you, their lawful prince and sovereign, should be thus robbed, and that all your finances should be lodged in such beggarly purses, by the aforesaid, whose purses are swollen out, and by those who have preceded them, without any regard to your own wants, or to those of the state.

'Item, since mention has been made of the grand state in which many live, it seems to your daughter, that such a style of living is too generally adopted throughout your kingdom; and she fears, from the evils that daily result from it, lest God may be angered against his people.

'Item, in regard to the great councils, they are not held in the manner they ought to be; for generally almost every one is admitted, whereas none but wise and discreet men, such as knights and clerks, should be suffered to enter, to a competent number receiving pay and salaries from you, and from none other,—

and these should always have an attentive eye to your personal profit and honour, and to the strengthening of your crown and kingdom. It frequently happens, from the numbers admitted, that business of every sort is neglected or delayed, and that when any good resolution has been made, as now and then will be the case, it remains unexecuted, however nearly it may affect your interests. —Foreign ambassadors should have their negotiations terminated, and our own should be dispatched; and whenever any thing conclusive has, by mature deliberation, been settled, it ought not to be broken off by a few persons afterward, as has often happened.

'Item, it is very distressing to hear such loud complaints of the debility of your government in protracting business. We even see the lord de Mouberon, the viscount de Murat, and those of la Rochelle, complaining of the delays of your council, although they are employed for the service of your kingdom, and declaring, that if more energy is not exerted, they must necessarily make peace with your enemies,—and thus you may lose many of your faithful vassals.

'In regard to the administration of justice in the realm, your court of parliament, which is the most eminent, is not governed as it is wont to have been. Formerly it was composed of excellent lawyers, as well secular as ecclesiastical, of a mature age and learned in the laws; and from its great fame for learning and justice, without partiality to any one, was resorted to, not only by Christians of all nations, but even by Saracens, who have applied to it for judgment.

'For some short time past, through favour of friends, relations, or other means, many young men have been admitted who are ignorant of the laws and unworthy of such honour, by which the authority and fair reputation of this court is greatly lessened. There are also other inconveniences attending these indiscriminate admissions: for instance, there are in this court many sons, brothers, nephews and relations sitting together, and many others who are lineally connected, as is the case with the family of the first president,—and from this circumstance great injustice may ensue in the decisions of the court.

'Item, there are now before the parliament several causes between poor persons, that are,

as it were, dead; for the members do not use such expedition in deciding upon them as they in reason should.

'Item, respecting the chamber of accounts, nothing is done, for all causes are there buried; for although some new members have been lately admitted, no progress seems to be made. Among the new ones is Alexander Boursier, who has several times been receiver-general of taxes, and whose accounts are said not yet to have been closed. You may, consequently, be a great loser in this business; for he who ought to be narrowly examined himself, is appointed to examine and reduce the accounts of others.

'Item, the better to effectuate his own business, this Alexander has so well practised that he has got Jean Vautier, who was his clerk, appointed to succeed him in the office of receiver-general; and notwithstanding the royal ordinances, and the oaths which receivers, and other officers in the receipt of taxes, take on entering their offices, to make the proper payments in regard to alms, they avoid, as it is said, by dissimulation and fraud, these distributions of alms, and frequently infringe the aforesaid ordinances.

'Item, respecting the administering of justice on those guilty of crimes against the revenue laws, it appears to us that the great multiplicity of officers is useless in this general dissipation of the substance of the kingdom, as well as the numbers of inferior officers, who, from their salaries and the presents they receive, devour the wealth of the country; for the greater part of these aforesaid officers are intruded on this court by the influence of friends.

'We must also notice the many presidents of the criminal court. During the reign of king Charles, there was but one, or two at the utmost,—whereas at present there are seven, who receive each annually one hundred livres, not including the notaries. Were we to enter into any detail respecting the masters of requests of the king's household, God knows how far it would lead us. In former times, ancient men, experienced in the laws and customs of the realm, were appointed to such places, who replied to all the petitions presented to them, and signed such as they judged expedient, so that the matter was speedily decided in chancery; but now raw and inexperienced youths are appointed, who expedite nothing

but by orders from the chancellor,—and this occasions supernumerary officers to be named, to supply their defects, whose pay is very great, and of course to your loss.

'Item, in respect to your chancery, it is well known, that your chancellor of France undergoes great labour, and is very deserving of a large salary, but without prejudice to your realm. Although his salary should not amount to more than two thousand livres parisis, he has nevertheless, for these last twenty years, taken, besides these two thousand livres and the gift of two thousand livres for the profits of the great seal, fines on remissions and registerings, of twenty sols parisis, which in the course of a year amount to a very large sum of money. He has also received other two thousand francs from the taxes levied for the support of the war. Item, he receives annually for his robes two hundred francs; and also from the treasury, for the use of his chancery, five or six hundred livres parisis. He receives likewise, in addition to the above gifts, to a very large amount, on the different taxes and impositions. He has likewise signed and sealed with too great facility letters patent for large sums, without making any opposition: the particulars of them may

be found in the accounts of Michel de Sabulon and Alexander Boursier, and in the accounts of several others, who have not failed to make advantage of them. To speak more plainly in regard to this article, there will be found in the above accounts grants, to the amount of six thousand francs, to private persons, sealed by the chancellor, although he well knew that this money was appropriated for carrying on the war.—These grants bring considerable emolument to the chancery, whose finances are managed by master Henry Machalie and master Buder, comptroller of the seal of chancery. They charge double fees on the king's dues, namely, those of notary and secretary, and receive exorbitant salaries and presents; and in such wise is your chancery governed that no great profit comes to you, although the emoluments of it are immense. In regard to the fees of notaries, as they connect themselves with whomever they please, we shall enter more fully into their detail when occasion offers.

'Item, there are several offices in the kingdom which are incompatible, and yet are held by the same persons, who serve them by proxy, and thus in different ways pillage your

subjects of their money. The debasement of your coin must not be forgotten,—and its weight and value have been lately so much diminished that a crown is now of less worth than two sols were formerly. The penny and twopenny pieces are scarcely worth as many farthings, which is very prejudicial to your people; and thus the good money is carried off,—for the Lombards in their exchanges collect all the good, and make payment in the new coin.

'You ought to know by whose advice this debasement of the value of your coin has been made, for it is commonly said to have been thus lowered in value by the provost of Paris, the provost of the merchants, and Michel Lallier, who have taken upon themselves the management of your mint; and although they may have allowed you some profit on this diminution of the coin, the loss that you and the queen will ultimately suffer is incomparably greater, as you may learn from those who are competent to give you information.

'Although your daughter and others of your subjects have now briefly laid before you the guilt of the aforesaid, this is not enough, nor will several days suffice, to enter into a full detail of all the wickedness and disgraceful

conduct of your ministers and their adherents. Very many others, beside those we have named, are equally guilty, but we now pass them over, in the expectation of more amply speaking of them hereafter, for the welfare of yourself and of your kingdom.

'In regard to the aid, advice and support, most sovereign lord, which you demand from your aforesaid daughter, and other loyal subjects, whom you have summoned for the purpose, they pray to God that he would be pleased, out of his grace, to comfort and advise you, for we are willing to expose our lives and fortunes in your service and support: indeed, we are bounden so to do by the solemn resolutions entered into at our last congregation, feeling ourselves greatly obliged to your royal majesty for the innumerable acts of kindness shown to us.

'The first advice we shall give regards your finances, that they may be put under a better administration as speedily as may be. We therefore recommend it as expedient for you to shut the hands of all your treasurers, directors and receivers, without any exception, and to dismiss them from their offices, taking, at the same time, possession of all their fortunes,

moveable and immoveable, and having their persons secured, until they shall have rendered you a just account of their administration.

'Item, we think it necessary that you should annul all assignments of grants and extraordinary pensions. We advise, that you instantly command, under pain of death and confiscation of goods, all receivers, treasurers, and other officers in the country, as well of your domain as of other taxes, to bring you the whole sums they may have in their hands, and that they make no payment whatever, by way of assignation, to any one, however great his rank, excepting to such as yourself shall then order; that, at the same time, they bring you their books, and all papers concerning their receipt, and that, on their arrival, they have no communication whatever with the aforesaid directors, under pain of the above punishments.

'Item, in order the more effectually to establish order in your finances, seeing the great waste and misapplication of the large sums that have been raised for your personal defence, and in support of the war, you will order the whole of the receipt of taxes to be

produced before you, as is your right, that henceforth they may be applied according to the true intent of raising them, and as the urgency of events may require. When the great need of such an ordinance is considered, no one ought to be dissatisfied; and on this subject have the goodness to keep in remembrance the prudent conduct of your father king Charles, whose soul may God receive! who nobly employed his taxes in driving the English out of his kingdom, and by this means made himself master of fortresses that were not before under his subjection: his officers and army were, at the same time, well paid; and there remained to him an overplus, which served him to purchase many precious jewels.

'Item, should these means not be sufficient for your immediate wants, it seems to us that as you have treasuries in different parts, you may justly take from them, for they are alike your own. There are also a number of very rich persons, to the number of sixteen hundred, who can at any time be named to you: these ought to assist in the support of the poor,—for one third of them do not pay, one with another, one hundred francs, which certainly

cannot oppress them; but repayments may be made them when the treasury shall be better filled, according to the most advised plan.

'Item, we recommend that you nominate for receivers of your finances, as well from your demesne, as from the taxes, prudent persons, fearing God, without avarice, and who were never employed in any such offices, with reasonable salaries, but without any extraordinary presents, by whom your finances will be distributed according to the wants of the state, and the overplus paid into your private treasury. When such are appointed, all deputy-receivers, and tax-collectors, should be ordered to produce their papers and books to them.

'Item, we recommend that all the schedules of the common expenses of yourself, the queen and the duke of Acquitaine, be carefully examined, so that the annual amount may be exactly known, which we believe does not exceed two hundred thousand francs; for the treasurers do not receive more than that sum from the demesne or taxes.

'Item, in regard to the court of parliament, it is necessary that all inefficient members be dismissed, and replaced by others better

informed, who shall adhere to ancient usages. The presidents of finances, of the civil and criminal courts, with the greffiers, treasurers and clerks, must be handsomely provided for, but reduced to a competent number.

'Item, the chamber of accounts must undergo similar regulations; and the members of it should consist of men of a prudent age, who may inform you of any mismanagement in the finance-department.

'Item, in regard to the minor officers, and deputy-receivers of finance, we think that if the whole of this business was put under the management of the presidents, you would gain considerably, whereas these minor officers swallow up great sums in salaries and fees.

'Item, it appears to us that you ought to select certain wise men, that they may be solely your council, in conjunction with the princes of your blood, and that they may loyally advise you for the real good of yourself and state, having their attention directed to nothing else, and that, when so doing, they should be strenuously supported by you in such wise that whatever they may propose for the welfare of the state may be instantly put into execution, without any opposition whatever. They should

take such oaths as are usually taken, or any more solemn ones, such as you shall think proper.

'Item, we recommend that the defence of the frontiers of Picardy, of Acquitaine, and of other parts, be sufficiently provided for, by allotting adequate sums of money for the payment of men at arms and repairs of castles, so that all danger of invasion, and other inconveniences, may be prevented.

'Item, to check as much as possible the daily oppression of the lower orders, by provosts and other inferior officers, it will be necessary to nominate honest and discreet persons, with moderate salaries, to overlook their conduct, and see that these men do not surcharge the poor by exorbitant fines.

'Item, there are several other oppressive grievances that have lasted for a considerable time, and which cannot be immediately remedied. Your daughter and aforesaid dutiful subjects promise to apply themselves diligently concerning them; and they most humbly and earnestly supplicate you to reform the abuses they have stated to you, and more especially those that relate to your treasury, which has been exceedingly wasted, and that without any

cause. They also beg of you to appoint a commission of the princes of your blood, with other well-informed persons, no way connected or related to those who have had the management of your finances, that they may reform and punish all who have been culpable, let their rank be what it may.

'Item, we also entreat that you would order the prelates and chief citizens in the different provinces, to impeach those who in their districts have been guilty of any peculations in your finances. All these things, most redoubted lord, have your aforesaid daughter and dutiful subjects laid before you, as being anxiously interested in your honour and welfare, and in the preservation of your crown and kingdom. Your aforesaid daughter has not done this through any expectation of worldly profit, but simply as her duty; for it is well known she has not been accustomed to hold offices, nor to seek for such profits, but solely to attend to her studies, and to remonstrate with you on what touches your honour and welfare whenever the case may require it.

'But although she has several times presented herself before you, to remonstrate on some of the before-mentioned grievances,

no remedy has been hitherto applied, by which your kingdom is in the utmost possible danger. Your faithful and loyal subjects again acquit themselves of their duty; and, that the reformation may now be entered upon in earnest, your aforesaid daughter requires the aid of your eldest son the duke of Acquitaine, and of the duke of Burgundy, by whom a reform was some time since begun, with heart and hand, without sparing any one, with whom your daughter joined, considering such reformation was so much wanted.

However, from the great opposition made by those who were interested in checking it, no great progress was made, for they were afraid the consequences would have been fatal to them. They urged every objection to it, as well as those now in power. We demand also the assistance of our much-honoured lords of Nevers, of Vertus, of Charolois, of Bar, and of Lorraine, of the constable and marshal of France, of the grand master of Rhodes, of the admiral, of the master of the cross-bows, and in general of all the chivalry and esquiredom in the realm, whose peculiar duty is to watch for the preservation of your crown, and also of your counsellors and all other your subjects,

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who, according to their several situations, may wish to acquit themselves toward your majesty.

'It has been publicly said by some, that your aforesaid daughter has made this exposition to your majesty, through hatred to particular persons, and from the reports of five or six. May it please you to know, that she has never been accustomed to gain information by such means, but has learnt the existence of the before-stated grievances from their public notoriety; and there is no man so ignorant as not to be fully sensible of the truths we have asserted, and of the culpability of those we have impeached. She has also received informations from many who are attached to your person, who have not indeed been gainers by it; but in further regard to them, she will be silent, unless you shall order otherwise in a private audience.

'Your daughter, therefore, concludes by begging your majesty to pursue diligently, and without delay, an examination and reform of the above grievances, in which she will join without the least personal disrepect to your royal person, otherwise your daughter would not acquit herself properly in regard to your royal majesty.'

After this conclusion, the university demanded of the princes, prelates, and lords, then present, that they would avow that what they had declared would be for the honour of the king and the welfare of the kingdom, which they complied with; adding, that they were ready to assist in carrying the aforesaid reforms into execution to the utmost of their power.

The king's ministers, more especially those of the finances, were thunderstruck, and fearful of an immediate arrest. Among them, master Henry de Marle, chancellor of France, seeing that he was accused with the others, found means of admission to the king, and by his fair promises, and by engaging to pay a very large sum of ready money within a few days, he contrived to gain his favour.

On the following Saturday, the 2d day of March, Andrew Guiffart, one of the treasurers, was arrested and confined in the Châtelet: his associate, John Guerin, took refuge in a church,—and thither also fled sir Peter des Essars, provost of Paris, who lately had great command in the expedition to Bourges. The duke of Burgundy had hitherto supported him, but his affection was cooled, for the provost

had lately shown himself more attached to the party of Orleans.

Having formed the resolution of quitting Paris, sir Peter des Essars sent Thomelin de Brie with five other men at arms to gain possession of the bridge at Charenton, that his passage over it might be secured; but they were made prisoners by the inhabitants of Charenton, who had received information of their coming, and carried back to the tower of the Louvre, wherein they were confined. The provost, learning this, took another road, and escaped to Cherbourg, of which place he was the governor, and remained there for some time. Shortly afterward, Baudrin de la Heuse was appointed provost of Paris, for the king had now relapsed into his former disorder. The duke of Acquitaine, however, took the whole government of the kingdom into his own hands; and many of the king's ministers, particularly those in the treasury, were ordered to be put under arrest, until they should have rendered a faithful account of all their receipts.

CHAP. XVI.

THE DUKE OF ACQUITAINE IS DISPLEASED WITH HIS CHANCELLOR.——JEALOUSIES ARISE AMONG THE GREAT LORDS,—AND OTHER MATTERS.

In these days, at a full council, of which the duke of Acquitaine was president, high words passed between the chancellor of France and the lord d'Ollehaing * chancellor of Acquitaine, insomuch that the latter told the chancellor his words were not gospel; and the other madly replied, that he lied in his throat.—Several other abusive expressions were used by him, and so often that the chancellor of France said, 'You abuse me, who am chancellor of France, and have often done so: nevertheless, I have always borne it patiently, from respect to my lord of Acquitaine, who is now present, and shall even still suffer it.'

But the duke of Acquitaine, hearing these words, arose in a passion, and, taking his

* *Sir John de Neele* in the original, and so before. Was sir J. de Neele lord of Ollehaing? It appears so from p. 156.

chancellor by the shoulders, thrust him out of the council-chamber, saying, 'You are a wicked and proud vagabond, for having thus abused the chancellor of my lord the king in my presence,—and I have no further need of your services.' In consequence, the lord d'Ollehaing resigned the seals, which were given to master John de Vailly, advocate in the parliament, who was appointed chancellor of Acquitaine in his stead.

The queen attempted, but in vain, to appease her son, as did the duke of Burgundy, who had recommended the late chancellor to him; for he now took the whole government into his hands, and insisted that every thing should be done according to his pleasure. Some of his confidential servants encouraged him in this conduct, as the welfare of the kingdom concerned him more than any one else; and since, as he was now of a proper age to govern, it was absolutely necessary for him to take the reins, considering the melancholy state of the king his father.

Among those who thus encouraged him were the duke of Bar, duke Louis of Bavaria, the count de Vertus, and others of that faction then at Paris, who visited him often, and desired

nothing more than that he would take the government of the kingdom upon himself.

The duke of Burgundy was duly informed of all these intrigues, and saw clearly that their object was to drive him from the administration, which very much displeased him. He formed different plans, and remembered that the duke of Acquitaine had told him, when before Bourges, that he would put an end to the war, and was sensible that the treaty of peace then concluded was contrary to the engagements sworn to be observed at the royal council held at Paris previous to their march from the capital. Nevertheless, he did not openly show that he was hurt by what was passing.

At this time, the county of Poitou was given to John de Touraine *, at the instance of duke William of Hainault, whose daughter he had married. The Poitevins made all the opposition they could, as they preferred being vassals to the king; but it was taken possession of in the name of the duke of Touraine, by the lords d'Andregines and de Mouchas, members of duke William's household, who brought with them the king's grant of this county, which was proclaimed in the usual manner.

* Second son of the king.

At the same period, namely, about Mid Lent, some of the inhabitants of Soissons rose suddenly in rebellion, and, advancing to the castle, broke down all the out-walls as well as those which surrounded their city, to open a free entrance on all sides. They also demolished the bridge over the river that gave access to the castle, so that none could gain admittance but by means of boats, which might formerly have been done without their leave. This castle belonged to the duke of Orleans, who was much exasperated by their conduct, although at the moment he could not obtain any reparation, notwithstanding he had remonstrated with the king's ministers on the subject.

At the request of the duke of Acquitaine, the head and body of sir Mansart du Bos, who had been beheaded at Paris, were restored to his widow and children. At ten o'clock at night, his head was taken down from the market-place, and his body from Montfaucon: they were united together in a coffin, and carried to the town of Rainsseval, in the diocese of Amiens, where his remains were honourably interred near the bodies of his father and ancestors.

CHAP. XVII.

HENRY OF LANCASTER, KING OF ENGLAND, WHO HAD BEEN A VALIANT KNIGHT, DIES IN THIS YEAR.—OF THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN HIM AND THE FRENCH PRINCES.

TOWARD the end of this year, died, Henry of Lancaster, king of England. He had in his time been a valiant knight, eager and subtile against his enemies, as is recorded in history, which also has enregistered the strange and disgraceful manner of his obtaining the crown of England, by dethroning his cousin-german Richard, after he had reigned peacefully for twenty-two years. He was before his death sorely oppressed with leprosy, which pitifully put an end to him, and he was royally and honourably interred among his ancestors in Westminster Abbey.

This king left behind him four sons,—namely, Henry prince of Wales, who succeeded to the throne, Thomas duke of Clarence, John duke of Bedford, and Humphry duke of

Glocester,—and a daughter married to Philip Barbatus, duke of Bavaria *.

All the four sons were handsome, well made, and versed in the different sciences,—and in process of time each had great commands, of which mention shall be hereafter made. But we must not omit reporting a conversation that passed between the king and his eldest son at his last moments. He was so sorely oppressed at the latter end of his sickness that those who attended him, not perceiving him breathe, concluded he was dead, and covered his face with a cloth. It was the custom in that country, whenever the king was ill, to place the royal crown on a cushion beside his bed, and for his successor to take it on his death. The prince of Wales, being informed by the attendants that his father was dead, had carried away the crown; but, shortly after, the king uttered a groan, and his face was uncovered,—

* Monstrelet has forgotten Philippa of Lancaster, Henry's younger daughter, married to Eric king of Denmark, and died without issue. His elder daughter outliving the duke of Bavaria, and her second husband the king of Arragon, was married to the duke of Bar, but had no issue by any of them.

when, on looking for the crown, he asked what was become of it? His attendants replied, that 'my lord the prince had taken it away.' He bade them send for the prince; and on his entrance, the king asked him why he had carried away the crown? 'My lord,' answered the prince, 'your attendants, here present, affirmed to me that you were dead; and as your crown and kingdom belong to me as your eldest son, after your decease, I had taken it away.'

The king gave a deep sigh, and said, 'My fair son, what right have you to it? for you well know I had none.' 'My lord,' replied the prince, 'as you have held it by right of your sword, it is my intent to hold and defend it the same during my life.' The king answered, 'Well, act as you see best: I leave all things to God, and pray that he would have mercy on me!' Shortly after, without uttering another word, he departed this life.

After the king's interment, the prince of Wales was most honourably crowned king, in the presence of the nobles and prelates of England, no one appearing to contest his

right.—When the duke of Clarence and the English in the duchy of Acquitaine, heard of king Henry's death, they returned as speedily as they could to England, for at that moment there was a truce between the two countries. But, notwithstanding this truce, the English on the frontiers of Calais continued to make inroads on, and to harrass, the Boulonois, insomuch that the constable was obliged to reinforce the garrisons of Ardres, Gravelines, and other places in the french interest.

Here follows a copy of the treaty concluded by king Henry IV. and his children, on the one part, and the dukes of Berry, of Orleans, of Bourbon, the counts d'Alençon, d'Armagnac, and the lord d'Albreth on the other, on the 8th day of May, in the year 1412.

It was first agreed to by the above lords, or by their commissioners, that they would expose their lives and fortunes in the service of the king of England, his heirs and successors, whenever they should be required so to do, in all their just quarrels,—in which they include the king of England's warfare in Guienne as a just quarrel, and maintain that the duchy of Guienne and its dependencies belong to him

by right of succession, and that by such declaration and assistance they shall no way act contrary to their loyalty.

'Item, the aforesaid lords make offer, by themselves or their delegates sufficiently authorised, of their sons, daughters, nephews, nieces, relations, in short, of all their subjects, to contract such marriages as shall be agreeable to the aforesaid king of England.

'Item, they likewise make offer of all their towns, castles, treasures, and in general all belonging to them for the assistance of the said king and his heirs in all their lawful quarrels, saving their loyalty, which they have more fully explained in other acts passed between them.

'Item, they also make offer of all their friends and adherents, to support the said king in the recovery of his duchy of Guienne.

'Item, the aforesaid lords are willing, without any fraud or deceit, to acknowledge at the altar, or in any sacred place, the said king's right to the duchy of Guienne, in as full a manner as any of his predecessors ever possessed it.

'Item, the aforesaid lords acknowledge, by themselves or their delegates, that all the

towns, castles, and possessions they may have in Guienne, they hold under the king of England, as the true duke of Guienne, promising every service due from their homage, to be performed in the best possible manner by them.

'Item, they also engage to deliver up to the king of England, as far as lies in their power, all towns and castles, said to have belonged to the king of England, to the number of twenty, as well castles as towns, which are fully detailed in the treaty *.

'In regard to the other towns and fortresses that are not under their obedience, they will gain them, or assist the king of England or his heirs to gain them, at their expense and with a sufficient number of men.

'Item, as is more fully detailed in the treaty, that it shall be agreeable to the king of England that the duke of Berry, his loyal uncle, subject and vassal, that the duke of Orleans, his subject and vassal, and in like manner the count d'Armagnac, do hold under him the following lands by fealty and homage. The duke of Berry shall possess

* See the original treaty in the Fœdera. It is dated the 18th of May, and not the 8th as in Monstrelet.

the county of Poitou during his life: the duke of Orleans shall hold the county of Angoulême for his life, and the county of Perigord in perpetuity: the count d'Armagnac shall hold four castles specified in the treaty, upon the terms and conditions therein declared.

'Item, among the engagements entered into by the king of England as duke of Guienne, he was to guarantee them safe possession of the above places, and to defend them against all enemies whatever, and afford them the assistance due from their true and superior lord,—and he was also to aid them in bringing the duke of Burgundy to exemplary punishment.

'And the said king was not to make or enter into any treaties with the duke of Burgundy, his children, brother, or with any of his adherents, without the previous consent of the aforesaid princes.

'Item, the king of England promises to assist the aforesaid lords as his loyal vassals in all their just wars, and to enforce recompense to them by the duke of Burgundy for all the damages he may have done to them.

'Item, the king of England will instantly send them eight thousand combatants to their

aid against the duke of Burgundy, who has excited the king of France to march against them with the whole force of his realm.'

This treaty of alliance was signed and sealed by the parties on the 8th day of May, in this year 1412. The aforesaid princes, however, agreed to pay the men at arms, whom the king of England should send to them, and gave sufficient securities for so doing.

[A. D. 1413.]

CHAP. XVIII.

THE KING'S MINISTERS ARE GREATLY ALARMED AT THE ARREST OF SIR PETER DES ESSARS AND OF THE DUKE OF BAR.—OTHER PROCEEDINGS OF THE PARISIANS.

At the beginning of this year, the king's ministers, that is to say, those who had had the management of the finances under their care for twenty years past, were much pressed to give in their accounts. Several public and

private accusations were made against them, which caused the greater part to fear that they should not escape with honour. Many had been arrested, and others had fled, whose fortunes had been sequestrated by the king.

They sought, therefore, by divers means, to obtain the protection of those princes who governed the king; and sir Peter des Essars, who had fled to Cherbourg, through the interest of the duke of Acquitaine, was remanded to Paris. He secretly entered the bastille with his brother sir Anthony, but not so privately as to prevent its being known to some of the Parisians, who disliked him, and who instantly acquainted the duke of Burgundy and his people with it, by whom he was equally hated. A party of the commonalty was soon collected; and headed by sir Elion de Jacqueville, then governor of Paris, and some others of the duke of Burgundy's friends, they marched to the bastille, and made prisoners of sir Peter des Essars and his brother, whom they first led to the castle of the Louvre and then to the prison of the palace. When this was done, they again assembled, to the amount of six thousand, under the standard of the aforesaid Jacqueville, who was joined by sir

Robert de Mailly, sir Charles de Lens, and several other men at arms of the household of the duke of Burgundy,—and about ten o'clock in the morning they drew up before the hôtel of the duke of Acquitaine.

The principal instigators of this insurrection of the commonalty were, Jeannot Caboche, a skinner of the slaughter-house of Saint James, master John de Troyes, a surgeon at Paris, and Denisot de Chaumont, who, having forcibly entered the apartment of the duke, addressed him as follows: 'Our most redoubted lord, here are the Parisians, but not all in arms, who on behalf of your good town of Paris, and for the welfare of your father and yourself, require that you cause to be delivered up to them certain traitors who are now in your hôtel.'

The duke, in a fury, replied, that such affairs did not belong to them, and that there were no traitors in his hôtel. They answered, that if he were willing to give them up, well and good,—otherwise they would take them before his face, and punish them according to their deserts. During this conversation, the dukes of Burgundy and of Lorraine arrived; and several of the Parisians at the same time entered the hôtel, and instantly seized master

Jean de Vailly, the duke's new chancellor, Edward duke of Bar, cousin-german to the king, sir James de la Riviere, the two sons of the lord de Boissay, Michel de Vitry and his brother, the two sons of sir Reginald de Guiennes, the two brothers de Maisnel, the two de Geremmes, and Peter de Naisson.

The duke of Acquitaine, witnessing this outrage committed before his eyes, turned to the duke of Burgundy, and angrily said, — 'Father-in-law, this insurrection has been caused by your advice: you cannot deny it, for those of your household are the leaders of it. Know, therefore, that you shall one day repent of this; and the state shall not alway be governed according to your will and pleasure.'

The duke of Burgundy replied, by way of excusing himself, 'My lord, you will inform yourself better, when your passion shall be somewhat cooled.' But, notwithstanding this, those who had been seized were carried off, and confined in different prisons.

They afterward made search for master Raoul Bridoul, the king's secretary, who, as they were carrying him away, was struck by one that hated him with a battle-axe on the

head, and thrown dead into the Seine. They also murdered a very rich upholsterer, who was an eloquent man, called Martin d'Aue, and a cannon-founder, an excellent workman, but who had been of the Orleans-party, whose bodies they left naked two whole days in the square of St Catherine.

They compelled the duke of Acquitaine to reside with the king his father, in the hôtel de St Pol, and carefully guarded the gates that he might not quit Paris. Some said this was done for his amendment, as he was very young, and impatient of contradiction, but others assigned different reasons: among them was one, that he had intended to have tilted on May-day in the forest of Vincennes, and that he had ordered sir Peter des Essars to meet him there with six hundred helmets, and to pay them for one month, and that this order had been executed. It was added, that the duke of Orleans and those of his party were collecting large bodies of men at arms to join the duke of Acquitaine in the forest of Vincennes, which had greatly displeased the duke of Burgundy and the Parisians.

It was melancholy to behold this reign of the mob, and the manner in which they

conducted themselves in Paris, as well toward the king as toward the other lords. They also wrote letters to the different towns to inform them that what they had done was for the welfare of the king and kingdom, and required of them to give them all aid and advice should there be any necessity for it, and to remain obedient in their fidelity to the king and his eldest son.

Afterward, that no assembly of men at arms might be made by any lord, the king, at the request of these same Parisians, published an edict, addressed to all the seneschals and bailiffs in the realm, of the following tenour.

'Charles, by the grace of God, king of France, to the bailiff of Amiens, or to his lieutenant, greeting.

'Whereas, in the divisions and disputes that so lately harrassed our kingdom, we, and our very dear eldest son the duke of Acquitaine, dauphin of Viennois, have so successfully laboured, that, through God's grace, we have established a solid peace in our realm, for the observance of which the greater part of our liege subjects have given security, and have promised, on their oaths, to keep and preserve

it, and not to issue any summons, or to raise any men, without our express permission.

'Notwithstanding this, we have heard that some of our blood, and others, are making preparations to raise men, by way of companies, in different parts of our kingdom, which may not only be very expensive to the country, but cause other great inconveniences, unless an immediate remedy be provided.

'These, therefore, are to enjoin you to cause this our prohibition to be most publicly proclaimed in the usual places within your bailiwick, and to forbid any person, under penalty of death and confiscation of goods, whether baron, knight or others, to obey any summons from their superior lord, unless so ordered by us, our son, or our well-beloved cousin the count de St Pol, constable of France, or others so commissioned by us. That no doubts may arise in regard to these our intentions, we send you this sealed with our great seal. You will likewise inform all our vassals, that whenever and wherever we, or our son, may send for them, they must obey.

'And because our very dear uncle and cousin the dukes of Berry and of Lorraine are

continually in our service, our intention is not that their vassals or subjects should be prevented going to them whenever they are sent for, or whenever they may employ them in our service; and should any in your bailiwick act contrary to the premises, we will and order that you constrain them to do their duty, by arrest and seizure of goods.

'Given at Paris the 9th day of May in the year 1413, and of our reign the 33d.' It was thus signed by the king, on the report made to him of the council held by the dukes of Acquitaine, Berry and Lorraine, and others, by J. Millet. It was then sent off, and proclaimed throughout the kingdom in the usual places.

The Parisians in those days wore an uniform dress with white hoods, to distinguish all who were of their party. They even made many of the nobles and prelates wear it; and what was more, the king himself afterward put it on, which seemed to many discreet persons very ridiculous, considering the abominable and detestable manner of the Parisians, and their cruelties, which were almost beyond bearing; but they were so powerful, and obstinate in their wickedness, that the princes

knew not well how to provide a remedy. They were also strengthened in it from the belief that they should be supported by the duke of Burgundy and his party, should there be occasion for it.

CHAP. XIX.

THE PARISIANS PROPOSE WHATEVER MEASURES THEY PLEASE, IN THE PRESENCE OF THE DUKE OF ACQUITAINE AND THE OTHER PRINCES.—CRUELTIES COMMITTED BY THEM.

On Thursday the 11th of May, the Parisians held a great assembly, and made various propositions, in the presence of the dukes of Acquitaine, Berry, Burgundy and Lorraine, the counts of Nevers, Charolois, and many nobles and prelates, with others, wearing white hoods by way of uniform, who were said to exceed twelve thousand in number. Toward the conclusion, they presented a roll to the duke of Acquitaine, which he would have refused to accept; but they constrained him not only to take it, but to read its

contents publicly. Sixty persons, as well absent as present, were charged in this roll as traitors: twenty of whom were instantly arrested, and confined in prison. In this number were the lord de Boissay, master of the household to the king, Michel Lallier, and others to the number above mentioned. The absent that had been thus accused were summoned by sound of trumpet, in all the squares of Paris, to appear within a few days, under penalty, in case of disobedience, of having their properties confiscated to the king's use.

On the 18th day of this same month, the king recovered his health, and went from his hôtel of St Pol to the church of Nôtre Dame, wearing a white hood like the other princes. When he had finished his prayers, he returned home accompanied by a vast multitude of people. On the Monday following, the Parisians had their city surrounded by numbers of men at arms, so that no person might leave it without permission: the gates were closely shut, and the bridges drawn up and watched by a numerous guard at each, armed with all sorts of weapons. They also appointed armed divisions of tens in all the streets; and when this was done, the provost of the

merchants, the sheriffs, and other leaders marched a large body of armed men to the hôtel of St Pol, which they surrounded with a line three deep; and having given their orders how they were to act, they waited on the king, the queen, and the dauphin, who were perfectly ignorant of their proceedings.

There was at this time a grand assembly of nobles in Paris, namely, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Lorraine, and duke Louis of Bavaria, brother to the queen, who was on the morrow to marry, at the hôtel de St Pol, the sister of the count d'Alençon, the widow of the lord Peter de Navarre, count de Mortain. The counts de Nevers, de Charolois, de St Pol, constable of France, and many more great barons and prelates, were likewise present. They there ordered a carmelite friar, called friar Eustache, to harangue the king, who, having taken for his text 'Nisi Dominus custodierit civitatem suam, frustra vigilat qui custodit eam,' discoursed well and long upon it, and made some mention of the prisoners, of the bad state of the government of the kingdom, and of the crimes that were committed.

When he had ended his speech, the chancellor of France bade him say who were

his protectors, when instantly the provost of merchants and the sheriffs acknowledged him. But as there were but few people present, and as they did not speak loud enough, according to the will of the chancellor, some of them descended to the court to call those of the greatest birth and weight that had remained armed below.

The principal leaders returned with them to the king's apartment, and with bended knees avowed that what father Eustache had said was conformable to their sentiments; that they had the sincerest love for him and for his family, and that their sole wish was to serve his royal majesty with clean and pure hearts; that every thing they had done had been for the welfare of himself and his kingdom, as well as for the preservation of his person and family.

While this was passing, the duke of Burgundy, noticing the line of armed men that were drawn up three deep, and surrounding the king's hôtel, went down and earnestly entreated of them to retire, demanding of them what they wanted, and why they were thus come armed; for that it was neither decent nor expedient that the king, who was so lately recovered from his illness, should thus see them

drawn up, as it were, in battle-array. They replied, they were not assembled with an ill intent, but for the good of the king and his kingdom: they concluded by giving him a roll, and said, they were on no account to depart thence until those whose names were therein inscribed should be delivered up to them, namely, Louis of Bavaria, brother to the queen, and the following knights: Charles de Villers, Courard Bayer, Jean de Neelle lord d'Ollehaing, the archbishop of Bourges, master William Boisratier, confessor to the queen, Jean Vincent, Colin de Pieul, Jeannet de Cousteville, Mainfroy, treasurer to the duke of Acquitaine, and a courier of the duke of Orleans, who happened accidentally to be in Paris, having brought letters from his master to the king; the lady Bona d'Armagnac, lady of Montauban*, la dame du Quesnoy, la dame d'Avelays, la dame de Noyon, la dame du Chastel, and four other damsels.

When the duke of Burgundy found that every thing he could say was vain, he went to the queen, and showed her the list they had given to him, telling her what they required.

* Bona, eldest daughter of the constable d'Armagnac, afterwards married to Charles duke of Orleans.

She was much troubled thereat, and, calling her son the dauphin, bade him return with the duke of Burgundy, and entreat them most affectionately in her name to desist for only eight days from their present demands, and that on the eighth day she would without fail deliver up her brother, or suffer them to arrest him, and carry him a prisoner to the Louvre, to the palace, or whithersoever they should please.

The duke of Acquitaine, hearing these words from his mother, retired to a private chamber and wept bitterly,—but was followed by the duke of Burgundy, who exhorted him not to weep, which he complied with, and wiped away his tears. They descended to the Parisians, and the duke of Burgundy explained in a few words the request of the queen; but they positively refused to grant it, and declared they would go up to the queen's apartment,—and should those contained in the list be refused to be given up, they would take them by force, even in the king's presence, and carry them away prisoners.

The two dukes, hearing this answer, went back to the queen, whom they found in conversation with her brother and the

king. They reported their reception from the Parisians,—when the duke of Bavaria, seeing he could not escape, full of bitterness and distress, descended down to them, and desired that he alone might be taken into custody; that if he were found guilty, he might be punished without mercy,—otherwise that he might instantly have his liberty, and go to Bavaria, never more to return to France.

The others also, with the ladies and damsels, were forced to surrender themselves, but it was not without great lamentations and effusion of tears. They were directly put two and two on horseback, each horse escorted by four men at arms, and carried, some prisoners to the Louvre, and others to the palace, followed by a large body of the Parisians under arms. When this was done, the king went to his dinner, and the queen with her son retired in great grief to their apartments.

Within a short time, the courier was set at liberty,—and so was the lord d'Ollehaing, who was reinstated in the office of chancellor of Acquitaine, from which he had been dismissed.

The duke of Burgundy had under his guard his cousin-german the duke of Bar,

sir Peter and sir Anthony des Essars, with other prisoners confined in the Louvre, whom he caused to be attended by his servants, and for whose security he had pledged himself. But he acted quite contrary, and returned them to the Parisians, who imprisoned them closely, and caused twelve knights to be nominated by the king as commissaries, and six examiners, to inquire into their offences, and to condemn and punish them according to the heinousness of their crimes and the exigence of the case.

In consequence of this, a statement was drawn up by directions of the duke of Berry, uncle to the duke of Bar, the countess de St Pol, and others his friends, and given to the Parisians, who sent it to the university of Paris for their advice and approbation of what they had done. The university replied, that they would no way intermeddle nor advise in the business; and they moreover declared, in full council before the king, that so far from having advised the arrest of the duke of Bar and the other prisoners, they were much displeased that it had taken place.

The Parisians, therefore, seeing that the university was disunited from them, and fearing

that their conduct would, in after times, be examined into, obtained from the king and his council a royal edict, as an indemnity and excuse for their actions, the tenour of which was as follows.

'Charles, by the grace of God, king of France, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting, on the part of our dear and well-beloved, the provost, sheriffs, citizens and inhabitants of this good town of Paris.

'We make known, that for our urgent profit and welfare, and also for that of our very dear son the duke of Acquitaine, dauphin of Viennois, and for the public welfare, for the security of our good town of Paris, and to obviate inconveniences that might have arisen from the malversation of some of our ministers, as well those of justice as others, and in order to prevent such malversations from increasing, certain arrests have lately taken place on divers men and women, as well of our blood and household as of those of our very well beloved consort the queen, of our son, and our very dear daughter the duchess of Acquitaine, and countess of Charolois, for the effecting of which arrests a large assemblage of men at arms was thought expedient, considering the rank and

power of those to be arrested, who are now confined in our prisons of the Louvre, of our palace, and in different prisons in our good town of Paris.

'The crimes alledged against them are for treasonable practices committed against us, our said son, the welfare of the kingdom and that of our good city of Paris, and also concerning the government of our person, of our son, and of the police of our said town and kingdom, for all of which sufficient judges have been appointed, who will examine into their various delinquencies, and punish in such wise as the public good may require, so that our good city of Paris, which is the head of our realm, may not again suffer any alarms through their fault, or that of their accomplices, who, fearing the consequences, have escaped out of the city.

'For these causes, and from the great love and loyalty they bear to us, who are their sovereign and natural lord, as well as to our said eldest son, the aforesaid provost, sheriffs, and citizens of Paris, have requested these presents, in order that good government may be restored, the security and welfare of our person and state be provided for, and that such

arrests and imprisonments may be considered as solely done out of the purity of their loyal intentions towards us, our family, and the public good of the realm.

'We will, therefore, that such arrests and imprisonments be so considered, and that they be regarded as done for the true honour and profit of us and of our crown; and that all who have been abettors or aiding in the above arrests and imprisonments, noble or not noble, shall be deemed praiseworthy; and by the advice of some of our kindred, as well as by that of our great council, we do approve of and avow such acts.

'By the tenour of these presents we acknowledge and hold them for agreeable, and forbid that for these causes, or for any others that may be connected with them, those who have thus acted be any way harrassed or molested in body or estate, or any suit be preferred against them in our courts of justice, by any means or pretext whatever, but that they shall be held acquitted in perpetuity.

'We give this, therefore, in command to all our beloved and faithful counsellors, who now hold or shall hereafter hold our courts of parliament at Paris, all masters of requests in

our household, and those holding similar situations in our royal palace, all officers in our exchequer, and all commissaries named to inspect our finance and domain, as well as those lately appointed to examine into the charges brought against the prisoners in our castle of the Louvre, and elsewhere in our prisons in Paris, to the provost of Paris, to all our seneschals, bailiffs, provosts, judges and other officers of justice at present and in times to come, and to each as in duty bound, that they do proclaim these presents in the accustomed public places, and that they do see that the commands herein contained be not infringed or disobeyed, so that the engagements we have entered into with the parties demanding these presents may be punctually observed.

'And as the parties may wish hereafter to renew the publicity of these presents, we will that there be exact copies made of them under the seal of the Châtelet, or other royal seals, to make them as authentic as the original, and that they may be of equal efficacy. Given at Paris the 24th day of May, in the year of Grace 1413, and of our reign the 33d.'

It was thus signed by the king in council; at which were present the dukes of Berry

and Burgundy, the constable of France, the archbishop of Bourges, the bishop of Evreux, the bishop of Tournay, the grand master of the household, the lord de la Trimouille governor to the dauphin, sir Anthony de Craon, sir Philippe de Poitiers, the chancellor of Burgundy, the abbot of St Jean, master Eustace de la Chere, the lords de Viefville, de Mont-Beron *, de la Rochefoucault †, the provost of Paris, sir Charles de Savoisy, the hermit de Faye, Jean de Courcelles, the lord d'Allegrez ‡, master Mille d'Orgemont, Raoul le Saige, Mille d'Angeul, Jean de Longneux, and many others.' P. Naucron.'

* Called before 'Mouberon;' but Montberon is right. James, son of Imbert lord of Montberon in Angoumois, was made mareschal of France in 1422, in the place of John de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam.

† Guy VIII. lord of la Rochefoucault, was one of the first lords of Guienne who did homage to the crown of France after the peace of Bretigny. Froissart mentions a duel which took place in 1380 between this nobleman and William lord of Montferrand, at which he was attended by two hundred gentlemen of his own family. He married Margaret de Craon, lady of Marsillac and Montbazon, by whom he had two sons, Foulcault III. lord of la Rochefoucault, mentioned hereafter, and Aymar lord of Montbazon and Sainte Maure.

‡ Called 'Allaigre' in the original. Alegre is the name of a noble and ancient family of Auvergne.

CHAP. XX.

THE COUNT DE VERTUS AND SEVERAL OF THE NOBILITY LEAVE PARIS.——OTHER REGULATIONS AND EDICTS OBTAINED FROM THE KING BY THE PARISIANS.

During these melancholy times, the count de Vertus, indignant at the arrest of the duke of Bar and other nobles, secretly left Paris, attended by two persons only, without the knowledge of the king or the duke of Burgundy, and hastened to his brother the duke of Orleans, at Blois, to whom he related all the extraordinary events that had passed in Paris, as well in the hôtel of the king as in that of the dauphin, and elsewhere, to the great displeasure of the duke of Orleans.

The duke of Burgundy was much vexed at the departure of the count de Vertus, for he had hopes to accomplish the marriage that had been for some time agreed on between him and his daughter. Many other noblemen quitted Paris from fear of the changes that were taking place, namely, sir James de

Chastillon, eldest son to the lord de Dampierre, the lords de Croy and de Roubaix, Coppin de la Viefville, master Raoul, head provost of St Donas at Bruges, Pierre Genstiere, who had lately been provost of merchants, and many more. Several were particularly remanded by the duke of Burgundy, who returned in great alarm, and not without cause; for of those who had been imprisoned, many were daily, without regard to sex, drowned in the Seine, or miserably put to death, without any form of law or justice.

On the 26th day of May, the king went to the parliament, and, at the instance of the duke of Burgundy and the Parisians, held a royal sitting, and caused several edicts to be published respecting the reformation of abuses. These, and other regulations for the government of the kingdom, were sent to the different bailiwicks, and other usual places, for proclamation. One of them was directed against sir Clugnet de Brabant, who in company with other captains had assembled in great force on the river Loire, to be ready to march to Paris,—the tenour of which was as follows.

'Charles, by the grace of God, king of France, to the bailiff of Amiens, or to his lieutenant, greeting.—Whereas it has come to our knowledge, that notwithstanding the very great oppressions which our subjects have suffered in various parts of our realm from the assembling of large bodies of men at arms, which the princes of our blood, and other barons, have thought proper, at different periods, to raise on their own authority,—there are still several who now continue such practices, to the great grievance of our faithful subjects. We have caused to be published and proclaimed throughout our realm, as well by messages as by sealed letters, our strict prohibition of such acts, under very heavy penalties; and we have ordered, that none, of whatever rank he may be, subject or foreigner, shall have the boldness to raise any men in future on their own sole authority, whether by way of companies or otherwise, without our special orders, or in obedience to our summons to come to serve us.

'Several of our kindred, however, contrary to these our orders, and in opposition to the treaty of peace lately concluded at Auxerre by

us, to put an end to dissentions which had arisen in our family, and which they solemnly swore to observe, are now preparing to assemble large bodies of men at arms without any authority or licence from us, and to unite them with a numerous army of English and foreigners, to carry into effect their damnable purposes, which they have plotted against us and our government, according to the information we have received.

'We have been repeatedly assured that they are favoured and supported by many in an underhand manner; and to force others to join them, they harrass and despoil all who have served us, more especially those who assisted us in our late expedition to Bourges, when we considered them as enemies of the state, and marched thither with the intent of correcting them sufficiently for their outrageous conduct.

'They at this moment, as we have had sufficient information, commit every sort of violence, by killing our subjects, violating damsels, setting fire to houses and villages, and despoiling churches, and many other atrocious crimes, such as the bitterest enemies

of the country would commit, and which are such bad examples that they must not longer be suffered.

'In consequence, therefore, of the lamentations and heavy complaints that have been made to us, we are resolved to remedy these grievances, which are so highly displeasing to us, in the most effectual manner: we therefore most expressly enjoin and command you, by these presents, that you instantly make public proclamation, by sound of trumpet, of this our prohibition, for any knight, esquire, or others accustomed to bear arms, of whatever rank they may be,—and we order them, on pain of our severest anger, and on the loyalty they owe us, not to arm themselves, nor to join any bodies that may have assembled in arms within our kingdom without our especial authority, nor to obey the summons of any one related to our person or not, on any occasion whatever, unless they be particularly ordered by us to join them for the good of our service.

'All whom you shall hear of having such intentions, you will command, in our name, to desist, and peaceably to return to their dwellings, or whither else they may please, without doing any harm to our

subjects. Should they refuse to obey your orders, and persist in their wicked intentions, you will instantly take possession, in our name, of all their castles, dwellings and possessions, causing an exact inventory to be made out, of the real and annual value, which you will place in the hands of safe persons to administer such estates, to render us an exact account of their amount, and to relinquish them whenever we may see good. You will also proceed against them as rebels; for we abandon them to you to imprison and punish according as you shall judge expedient.

'You will likewise, should they have quitted their dwellings, pursue them by every means in your power, shutting them out from all towns, and depriving them of provisions, and harrassing them in every way deserving of their disobedience, and to serve as an example to others.

'It is not, however, our intention that such of the princes of our blood as are now near our person, and in our service, should be prevented from ordering their vassals to come to them, or from employing them for our welfare, as they shall specify in their summons; but they must not, on their march, live on the

country, or despoil the inhabitants. Should any of them do the contrary, we command you to proceed against them as against the aforesaid; and you will inflict on them such punishments as their demerits require, without paying regard to any letters of protection they may show to you.

'To enable you to execute these our orders, we give you full authority to call upon and assemble all our vassals and subjects to your aid, and as many as you shall think necessary for the occasion, and to lead them to any parts of your bailiwick where you shall hear of any robberies or other rebellious acts being done. And we strictly enjoin, by these presents, all our vassals and subjects, on the faith and loyalty they owe us, and under pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of goods, to obey your orders, and to assist you heartily to accomplish the above commands.

'That no one may pretend ignorance of them, you will cause these presents to be proclaimed in all the different parts of your bailiwick, or wherever else you shall judge proper. We also command all our officers of justice, and others having authority under us, and we entreat all our friends and wellwishers,

to aid and support you on this service, and diligently to keep up a good understanding with you thereon, and to show you every favour, even allowing their dwellings to be turned into prisons, should the exigency of any case require it,—for we delegate to you full and complete authority, notwithstanding any opposition or appeal made to the contrary. Given at Paris the 6th day of June, in the year of Grace 1413, and of our reign the 33d.'

Then signed by the king, on the report of his council,—at which were present my lords of Berry, Burgundy, the constable, the chancellor of Burgundy, Charles de Savoisy, Anthony de Craon, the lords de Viefville, de Montberon, Cambrilach, d'Allegrez, and many others.—' P. Naucron.'

This edict was sent to the different bailiwicks and seneschalships in the kingdom of France, and proclaimed in the usual places.

CHAP. XXI.

KING LADISLAUS OF NAPLES ENTERS ROME WITH A POWERFUL ARMY.—THE DEATH OF SIR JAMES DE LA RIVIERE.—THE DISMISSION OF THE CHANCELLOR,—AND OTHER MATTERS.

THIS year, Ladislaus king of Naples and Sicily, at the instigation of some false and disloyal traitors, marched a very large army to Rome, which he entered without resistance, and began to pillage the whole of it,—at the same time making prisoners the most powerful and rich citizens, who were forced to ransom themselves by paying heavy sums of money.

Pope John and his cardinals, witnessing these transactions, took flight in the utmost fear, and escaped from castle to castle, until they at length reached Bologna, where the pope fixed his court. The greater part of their estates were despoiled by this army of Ladislaus, who for a long time reigned in Rome; and when, in consequence of certain accommodations, he departed, he carried

away many precious jewels from the churches and palaces.

Sir James de la Riviere, brother to the count de Dampmartin, was taken prisoner with the duke of Bar, in the hôtel of the duke of Acquitaine, and carried to the palace-prison, where it was reported, that from indignation at this treatment, he had struck himself so roughly with a pewter-pot on the head as to beat his brains out. His body was thence carried in a cart to the market-place of Paris, and beheaded.

But the truth was otherwise; for sir Elion de Jacqueville, knight to the duke of Burgundy, visiting him in prison, high words passed between them, and he called him a false traitor. Sir James replied, that he lied, for that he was none such,—when Jacqueville, enraged, struck him so severe a blow on the head with a light battle-axe which he had in his hand that he killed him. He then spread abroad this rumour of his having put an end to his life himself by means of a pewter pot, which was propagated by others through the town, and believed by very many.

Shortly after this event, Mesnil Berry, carver to the duke of Acquitaine, and a native

of Normandy, was led to the market-place, and there beheaded. His head and that of sir James de la Riviere were affixed to two lances, and their bodies hung by the shoulders on the gibbet of Montfaucon.

On the Thursday in Whitsun-week, Thomelin de Brie, who had been page to the king, was, with two others, taken from the prison of the Châtelet to the market-place, and beheaded: their heads were fixed on three spears, and their bodies hung at Montfaucon by the shoulders. These executions took place at the request of the Parisians.

And because sir Reginald* de Corbie, a native of Beauvais, though an old and discreet man, was not agreeable to them, he was dismissed from his office of chancellor of France, and sir Eustache de Lactre†, at the solicitation of the duke of Burgundy, appointed to succeed him.

On Tuesday, the 20th of June, Philip count de Nevers espoused, at the castle of

* Called 'Ernault' a little after, which agrees with Moreri's Arnold.—See *ante*, p. 14, note.

† In Moreri's list, Henry de Marle succeeds Arnauld de Corbie in 1413, and is succeeded by Eustache de *Laître* in 1418.

Beaumont, the sister of the count d'Eu, in the presence of the duchess of Bourbon, her mother, and the damsel of Dreux, who had been principally instrumental in forming this marriage.

After the festivities of the wedding, the new-married couple were conducted by the duchess of Bourbon and the damsel of Dreux to Maizieres, on the Meuse, which belonged to the count de Nevers. The count d'Eu, who had been of the party, soon after returned to his county, where he collected a large body of men at arms, to the amount of two thousand combatants, under the pretext of making war on the lord de Croy, in revenge for an attack made upon him some time since, as has been mentioned, by his eldest son sir John de Croy; but it was not so, for he marched his army across the Seine at Pont-de-l'Arche, and thence to Verneuil in Perche, where were assembled king Louis of Sicily, the dukes of Orleans, Brittany, and Bourbon, the counts de Vertus and d'Alençon, with many other great barons, lords, and knights, not only on account of the imprisonment of the dukes of Bar and of Bavaria, or of the other prisoners, but for the deliverance of the duke of Acquitaine,

who had informed them by letters, which had been confirmed by the count de Vertus, that he himself, the king, and the queen were kept as prisoners under the control of the Parisians, and that they were not allowed any liberty, which was highly displeasing to them, and disgraceful to royalty.

This had caused so large an assembly of these great lords, who, after mature consideration, wrote letters to the king, to his great council, and to the Parisians, desiring them to allow the duke of Acquitaine to go whithersoever he pleased, and to set at liberty the dukes of Bar and of Bavaria, and all other prisoners. Should they refuse to comply, they declared war against the town of Paris, which they would destroy to the utmost of their power, and all within it, except the king and such of his royal blood as may have therein remained. With regard to those that had been murdered, they said nothing of them; for as they were dead, they could not have them back.

These letters were laid before the king in council, where it was determined to send ambassadors to these lords to negotiate a peace, who were kindly received by them.

On Saturday, the 1st day of July, after his trial had been concluded, sir Peter des Essars, lately provost of Paris, and son to the late Philippe des Essars, a citizen of that town, was beheaded in the market-place, his head fixed on the market-house, and his body hung at Montfaucon in the usual manner. His brother, sir Anthony, was in great danger of being also executed; but through the activity of some friends, a delay of his trial was procured, and he afterward obtained his full liberty.

In these days, as the king was in good health, he went to the cathedral of Paris to say his prayers and hear mass. When it was over, he visited the holy relics: he departed and returned to his hôtel, accompanied by the duke of Burgundy and the constable of France, and followed by crowds of people who had assembled to see him.

On the morrow, the 6th of July, it was ordered in the king's council, presided by the duke of Acquitaine, that John de Moreul, knight to the duke of Burgundy, should be the bearer of letters and royal summons to the two bailiwicks of Amiens and of Vermandois, and to all the provostships within them. He was commanded to assemble all the prelates,

counsellors and magistrates of these districts, and then, in full meeting, to read aloud these letters from the king, sealed with his great seal, and dated this 6th day of July. Countersigned, 'John Millet,' according to the resolution of council, at which had been present the duke of Burgundy, the constable of France, the chancellor of Acquitaine, the chancellor of Burgundy, and several others.

These letters contained, in substance, an exhortation that they would remain steady and loyal in their duty to the king, and be ready to serve him or the dauphin whenever and wherever they should be summoned to march against the enemies of the kingdom and the public weal; that they should place confidence in his knight, counsellor and chamberlain, sir John de Moreul, according to the instructions given him under the king's privy seal, which he was to show and give them to read.

When he had visited many towns and provostships in these bailiwicks, he came on Monday, the 16th day of July, from Dourlens to Amiens, and there, in the presence of the nobles, prelates, and principal inhabitants of the great towns within the district, he read his letters and instructions with a clear and loud

voice, for he was a man of great eloquence. He explained how much the peace and union of the kingdom had been and was troubled; how the trials of those who had been beheaded at Paris were carried on before a sufficient number of able and honest men, as well knights as advocates of the parliament, and other lords and discreet men, who had been nominated for this purpose by the king; and how sir James de la Riviere, in despair, had killed himself with a pewter pot in which he had had wine, as well as the manner in which he had done it.

The charges which were brought against those who had been beheaded occupied each sixty sheets of paper,—and he assured them, that good and impartial justice had been administered to all who had been executed, without favour or hatred having any concern in their just sentences. He asserted, that the duke of Acquitaine had never written such letters to the princes of the Orleans-party as they had published; and he concluded,—'Know then, all ye present, that what I have just been saying are notorious truths.'

After this, he asked whether they were loyal and obedient to the king, and desired

they would tell him their intentions. The nobles and prelates, and the rest of the assembly, instantly replied, that they had always been obedient to the king, and were ready to serve him, believing that he had told them the truth. In confirmation of this, he required letters from the provost, with which he returned to Paris.

In like manner were other knights sent, in the king's name, with similar letters and instructions to the different bailiwicks and seneschalships within the realm, who, being equally successful, returned with letters of the same import.

While these things were passing, the English appeared off the coast of Normandy with a large fleet of ships, and landed at the town of Treport, where having plundered all they could find, and made some prisoners, they set fire to it, and burnt the town and monastery, and also some of the adjoining villages. When they had remained about twenty-two hours on shore, they re-embarked and made sail for England with their booty.

CHAP. XXII.

THE AMBASSADORS FROM THE KING OF FRANCE RETURN WITH THOSE FROM THE PRINCES TO PARIS.—THEY ARE JOINED BY OTHERS, WHO NEGOTIATE A FOURTH PEACE AT PONTOISE.

On Wednesday, the 12th day of July, the ambassadors whom the king and the dukes of Acquitaine, Berry, and Burgundy, had sent to the princes of the blood, namely, the bishop of Tournay, the grand master of Rhodes, the lords d'Offemont and de la Viefville, master Peter de Marigny, and some others, returned from their embassy. The answer they had brought having been soon after considered in council, the king ordered the dukes of Berry and Burgundy to go with the aforesaid ambassadors to Pontoise, when the king of Sicily, the dukes of Orleans and of Bourbon, the counts d'Alençon and d'Eu came to Vernon, and thence sent their ambassadors to Pontoise, to explain to the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, and the other ambassadors, the causes of their griefs, and the great miseries

that must ensue should the war take place that was on the point of breaking out.

One of their ambassadors harangued well in clear and good French on the above subjects: the substance of what he said was as follows. ‘ To explain what has been intrusted to us by our lords, namely, the king of Sicily, the dukes of Orleans and of Bourbon, the counts d'Alençon and d'Eu, to you, my very redoubted lords of Berry and Burgundy, and to the gentlemen of the great council of the king and of my lord of Acquitaine, now in their company, since it becomes me to speak the words of peace, trusting in Him who is the sole Author of peace, and in the good will of my hearers, I shall take my text from the 33d Psalm, ‘ Oculi mei semper ad Dominum;’ that is to say, My eyes are always turned to the Lord; and continue my discourse from what the wise Plato says, among other notable things, that all princes or others intrusted with the affairs of government should obey the commands of their sovereign in all they shall do for the public welfare, laying aside every private consideration for their own advantage, and regard themselves as part of a whole, the

smallest member of which being wounded, the effect is felt by the head or chief lord.

'I consider, therefore, the kingdom of France as a body, of which our sovereign lord the king is the head, and his subjects the members. But in what degree shall I place my lords the princes who have sent us hither, or you, my lords, who hear me? for we know of no other head but our sovereign lord.—I can neither liken you to the head nor to the aforementioned members, on account of your rank; but I think I may compare you to the members nearest to the head, for among them may be counted the eyes, which are of the greatest use to it. I shall consequently compare you to the eyes, and for three singularly good reasons.

'First, the eyes ought to be well placed and formed alike; for should one be placed differently from the other, half closed or awry, the whole person is disgraced and acquires the name of Blind or Squinter. Now, it seems to me, that as my lords who have sent us, and you, my lords, who hear me, have persons handsomely made, you ought to be of one mind, and tending towards good; for you have eyes

of a clear understanding, and of real affection, ‘ Oculi sapientis in capite ejus.’

‘ Secondly, the eyes are the most striking parts of the human body, and have a full view over every part of it, as the prophet Ezekiel says, in his 33d chapter, ‘ Speculatorem dedi te domui Israel.’ Just so are our princes of the blood, for from their singular and strong affection to their sovereign lord and his kingdom, they constantly watch over and guard him.

‘ Thirdly, from the nobleness of the eye, which is of a circular form, and of such sensibility that when any other member of the body is hurt, or struck with grief, it weeps, as the prophet Jeremiah says in the 19th chapter, ‘ Plorans, plorabit, et educet oculus meus lachrimam quia captus est grex Domini.’ In like manner Valerius Maximus relates, in his 8th book, that when Marcellus the tyrant saw his city despoiled by the enemy, who had taken it by storm, he could not refrain from weeping, which was becoming a real eye. Certainly it ought to bewail the pain of its members, as Codrus, duke of Athens, did, who caused himself to be slain to gain a victory over his enemies, as is related by Julius Frontinus, and

this same Valerius Maximus in his 8th book. And because all our lords are and ought to be of the same stamp, I have compared them thereto by saying, ‘ Oculi mei semper ad Dominum.’

‘ As for me, being the spokesman of those who have been charged to come hither by our lords, we do not think of comparing ourselves to eyes, but solely to the very humble servants of the eye, being no greater parts of the members than the nail on the little finger, ready at the calls of our superiors; and from their commands have we been led to speak of such high concerns, which was matter of great grievance to us; but it is for the sake of peace, and in obedience to the eye, ‘ Oculi mei semper ad Dominum;’ for in all times, every one should obey his lord, more especially when he is in adversity,—as Tully says in his treatise on Friendship,—Come to thy friend in prosperity, when he calls thee; but when he shall be in adversity, wait not to be called. I apply this to all landholders who are not the immediate ministers of a king, or of the Lord, according to the apostle St Peter, who says in his second chapter, ‘ Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake, whether it be to

the king as supreme,' &c. And again, 'Be obedient in the fear of our Lord, not only to the good and just but to the ignorant.' Thus may every one repeat the text I have chosen, 'Oculi mei semper ad Dominum.'

'Notwithstanding my lords who have sent us hither having the eyes of clear understanding, and affected with a true love to their sovereign as the head of the whole body of this Christian kingdom, are fearful that what Isaiah says in his 8th chapter may be applied to them; 'Speculatores ejus cæci omnes;' and that they may be said to resemble the hog who devours the fruit that falls from the tree, without ever looking up to the tree whence it falls. Nevertheless, they having considered the events that have lately taken place in Paris, are full of grief lest the whole body of the kingdom should consequently suffer such destruction as, from its continuation, may be mortal to it, which God, out of his gracious mercy, avert!

'In the first place, they have heard of the arrests and executions of the servants of the king, queen and duke of Acquitaine, to whom alone belongs the cognizance of any offences committed by them, and to none others.

They have also been informed that the same conduct has been followed in regard to the ladies and damsels of the queen and the duchess of Acquitaine, which things, from honour to the queen their mistress, as well as for the respect due to the female sex and to modesty, ought not to have been done.

'The laws declare and command, under heavy penalties, that modest women shall not be publicly handled; and the honour of their families would seem to assure them of not being so treated, for which they make loud lamentations.

'Notwithstanding that the cognizance of any crime committed by a prince of the royal blood belongs solely to the king, the duke of Bar has been imprisoned, who is cousin-german to the king our lord, which causes much sorrow to our lords, more particularly to the king and queen of Sicily (who is his niece), who loudly cry out for his deliverance, as well as for that of duke Louis of Bavaria, brother to the queen. They are more hurt at the form and manner in which they were arrested; for, according to what has been told them, they were seized by those who were not king's officers, nor had any authority for so doing

from him, but merely by a mob of common people, who forcibly broke down the doors of the king's and the duke of Acquitaine's apartments, saying to the latter many rude and impudent things, which, as is reported, have greatly displeased him; and they are particularly anxious to know why such disgraceful acts were done, as they are ignorant what could have caused them.

'Could any just reasons be alledged, they would not be so much astonished as they now are. But to coutinue: it has been told them that my lord is even deprived of his liberty, and that he cannot leave his hôtel, or at least that he is not suffered to go out of Paris; and that no one of his kindred, or of any high rank, are suffered to converse with him, but only those who guard him, as is done to common prisoners in many cases. This is matter of as serious grief to him and to my said lords, thus to be deprived of the conversation and sight of their sovereign lord on earth, as it would be to be debarred the vision of God in another life.

'Item, they complain, that since these events letters have been sent by the town of Paris to the aforesaid lords, and to others,

and also to the chief towns in the kingdom, to declare that these arrests, imprisonments and executions, have taken place with the approbation of the duke of Acquitaine. They therefore lament such letters being sent, for none but the princes of the blood ought to be made acquainted with the acts of government, or with such charges as are made against different lords. There was, beside, no pretence for these letters, for no one had ever interfered with the government of the duke of Acquitaine; and it should seem to have been done solely with a view to inflame and instigate the people to some acts prejudicial to the king, to my lord of Acquitaine, his whole family, and even against these lords now present.

'They also complain, that through the importunity of these same Parisians, orders have been sent to their barons, knights, esquires and vassals, not to obey any summons they may receive from them, but to remain at home until the constable, or some other of the lords within Paris, shall send for them; and at this grievance they feel very indignant, for they have never done any thing, or had intentions of so acting, as to deserve to be deprived of the

service of their vassals; and when the king should have occasion for them, they should have served in their company, &c.

'Item, they likewise complain of many expressions, and other orders, by which several officers take possession of castles and forts, and place in them new governors, dismissing very able captains, noble and valiant knights, who have loyally served their whole life without reproach, and still intend to serve the king.

'These things are very unusual and extraordinary, and create much uneasiness, by the bad example they afford as well to the head as the other members, to the producing of subversion and total ruin. This good kingdom has long been prosperously governed, chiefly by its regular police and strict justice, which are founded on three things, and have caused it to excel all other kingdoms.

'First, by its great learning, by which the Christian faith has been defended, and justice and equity maintained.

'Secondly, by its noble and gallant chivalry, by which not only this kingdom, but the whole of the faith has been supported and encouraged.

'Thirdly, by the numbers of loyal subjects, who, by their subordination and obedience, have given strength to the government.

'But now these three things, by the present perverse mode of acting, will be completely overturned; for all seems running to disorder, and one fills an office suited to another, so that the feet which ought to support the body, head and arms, now want to take the place of the head, and thus every thing will fall into confusion, and all the members quit the situations they were naturally designed for, as the civil law says, 'Rerum commixtione turbantur officia.'

'For these reasons, my lords have sent us to supplicate the king, the queen, and my lord of Acquitaine, and to request of you, our very dear and redoubted lords, and of you gentlemen of the great council of the king and the duke of Acquitaine now present, that each of you would, according to the exigence of the case, apply a sufficient remedy. It seems to my lords, that, according to the opinion of physicians, abstinence is the grand preservative of the body natural from sickness: we therefore pray you, that all such acts as have lately taken place may be put an end to, and that all

extraordinary commissions may cease, that honour and justice may have due attention paid to them, and that liberty and the accustomed prerogatives be restored to the king and the duke of Acquitaine, as to the eyes of justice; and that they may be preserved from all offence from churchmen, nobility, and people, as the body, the arms, and the legs are bound to guard and defend the head,—for this will be the only and secure means of establishing peace, and as the Psalmist says, 'Quia justicia et pax osculatæ sunt.'

'St Augustin declares, that every one wishes for Peace in his house; but Justice, who is her sister, lodges in the house of another; and all who wish for true Peace must have also her sister Justice. Should any one say, that abstinence would be dangerous from fear of two different things, such as war and rigorous justice, we reply, in the name of our lords, that they will eschew both to the utmost of their power, and will employ themselves heartily in following this abstinence, and in the expulsion of all such men at arms as shall injure the country by every means they can use.

'In regard to rigorous justice, they intend to follow in this the manner of all princes, keeping in mind the sentence of Plato, that when a prince is cruel to the commonwealth, he resembles the guardian who unwisely chastises his ward, whom he had undertaken to watch over and defend. They will carefully imitate the conduct of their predecessors of the most noble house of France, who have been accustomed to show nothing but good humour and kindness, laying aside all rancour against the good city of Paris, and all other towns that may have been guilty of improper acts; and they supplicate the king, the queen, and my lord of Acquitaine, that an entire oblivion may be passed over what may have been done on one side as well as on the other.

'My lords are particularly desirous that the king, the queen, and the duke of Acquitaine should have full liberty to make their residence at Rouen, Chartres, Melun, Montargis, or at any other place more suitable than Paris, for their loyal subjects to have access to them; not through any malevolence toward this town, or against its inhabitants, but to avoid any sort of riot that might take place between their servants and some of the citizens.

'And I beg the lords now present to consider on the most secure means for the meeting of my lords with their majesties and the duke of Acquitaine, and to obviate all pretence of suspicion or alarm, when my lords shall attend at any proper place to provide for the better government of the kingdom, and for the establishment of a solid peace. Let this matter be well weighed, for our lords and ourselves are perfectly well inclined to attend to the honour and advantage of the head and of all its members.

'Should I have said too little, my lords and companions will be eager to amend it; and should I have said too much, or any thing that may have angered any of my lords here present, they will be pleased to attribute it to my simplicity and ignorance, and to the strong affection I bear to the king, and my earnestness that a firm and lasting peace may be concluded. I am naturally bound to this by my oath of fidelity, and also from the anxiety my lord the king of Sicily has to promote this desirable end. Should I therefore have said more than was necessary, you will not of course attribute it to any rashness, or disaffection that I may feel; for such has never entered my

thoughts, or those of my lord of Sicily or his companions.'

After this, several propositions for peace were made on each side, that tranquillity might be restored to the kingdom, and an end put to the present disorders. Some articles were drawn up, of the following tenour.

'First, there shall be perfect union and love between the princes of the blood, which they will keep, and swear to observe, like affectionate relatives and friends, and shall mutually interchange letters to this purpose; and, for a greater confirmation of the above, the principal officers and servants of each lord shall do the same.

'Item, the princes of the blood who have sent ambassadors will cease from all acts of warfare, and will not summon any more men at arms; and if any summonses should have been issued, they will instantly annul them.

'Item, they will do every thing in their power to recal those who form the companies of Clugnet, Louis Bourdon, and others their adherents, by every possible means. Should these companies refuse to comply, these lords would then unite themselves with the king's forces, and compel them to obedience, or

destroy them, and all others the king's enemies, who might wage war against him or his kingdom.

'Item, they will promise that they will not bear any malice or revenge for whatever things may have been done in the city of Paris, nor do by themselves or others any mischief to that town, or its inhabitants, under pretext of justice, or any other cause whatever; and should any security be required for the observance of this article, they shall suffer it to be given, and even afford every assistance thereto to the utmost of their power.

'Item, these princes will make oath upon the true cross of God, on the holy evangelists, and on the word of honour of a prince, that they will strictly observe every article of this treaty, without any fraud or subterfuge, and will give to the king letters containing the above oath, signed with their seals.

'Item, on the accomplishment of the above, the ambassadors from the aforesaid princes require, that the king would be pleased to annul and revoke all his summonses for assembling men at arms, and order all warfare to cease in the realm, except against the above mentioned companies.

'Item, he will also revoke all orders lately issued, to take possession of different castles and forts, and to dismiss from them the governors appointed by the princes, placing others in their room; and all such castles and forts shall be delivered up in the same state in which they were taken possession of; and, after a certain time, all who for any act by them committed, in opposition to the king's ministers, may have been imprisoned or banished, shall have their liberties, and be recalled home; and this shall take place in the course of the king's ordinary justice, without any commissioners being appointed, or interfering therein.

'Item, when all these things shall have been done, the king, the queen, and my lord of Acquitaine shall, on an appointed day, come out of Paris to a fixed place of meeting, where the princes of either party shall meet, to confirm the good union among them, and to advise on the necessary business for the welfare of the king and his realm; and should any one suspect that these princes, or any of their party, have the intention of instigating the king, the queen, or my lord of Acquitaine, to take vengeance on the town of Paris, or, in revenge to any of its inhabitants, seize on the

government, or to carry off the king and my lord of Acquitaine, or that this meeting was proposed with any evil design, they are willing to give whatever security may be thought advisable.'

These propositions having been reduced to writing, and agreed to by the different lords who had been commissioned for that purpose, each party returned to the places they had come from. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy, with their companions, reported to the king the points of their embassy, as contained in the memorial which had been drawn up for the good of the kingdom.

When this matter had been well considered, in a council to which the members of the university and of the municipality of Paris had been admitted, it was agreed on by the king and the duke of Acquitaine, that what had been settled by the commissioners on each side should be confirmed. In consequence, various ordinances were drawn up, to be transmitted to the bailiwicks and seneschalships in the realm, in order to their promulgation at the usual places, of which copies follow underneath.

During this melancholy time, Clugnet de Brabant, sir Louis de Bourdon, and other

captains of that party, advanced with sixteen thousand combatants, wasting and despoiling the country of the Gâtinois, and giving out that they were on their march to make war on the Parisians. These latter were much angered thereat, and dispatched sir Elyon de Jacqueville with sixteen hundred helmets, and a large body of other combatants, to meet them as far as Montereau-faut-Yonne; but the two armies did not meet,—and that of the Parisians was disbanded without fighting.

At this time, the constable and admiral of France were, with the bishop of Tournay, sent by the king to Boulogne-sur-mer, to meet ambassadors from the king of England, namely, the earl of Warwick, the bishop of St Davids and others, who had arrived at Calais. They met at Leulinghen, and, after some negotiations, agreed on a truce between the two kingdoms, to last until the ensuing Easter, which was proclaimed throughout both realms.

Here follows a copy of those royal ordinances before mentioned.

'Charles, by the grace of God, king of France, to the bailiff of Amiens, and to each of the inhabitants of that town, greeting.—We make known to you, that on account of the

improper and unjust imprisonment of our very dear and well beloved cousin and brother in law, the dukes of Bar and of Bavaria, with other of our officers, as well as of the households of our dear companion the queen, and of our well beloved son the duke of Acquitaine, and other ladies and damsels attached to them; our very dear cousin and nephew, the king of Sicily, the duke of Bourbon, the counts of Alençon and of Eu, have made heavy complaints, as well respecting the manner in which these imprisonments were made, as likewise regarding the disgust which these events, and others that have taken place in our good town of Paris, have caused to our very dear son; and on this occasion the disaffected princes have lately come to the town of Verneuil, whither we sent, on our part, properly-instructed ambassadors, and also with them our very dear uncles the dukes of Berry and of Burgundy.

'Some of the inhabitants of Paris went by our orders to Pontoise; and our aforesaid cousin and nephews the king of Sicily, the dukes of Orleans, of Bourbon, and the counts d'Alençon and d'Eu, came to the town of Vernon, and thence sent their ambassadors to

explain and signify to our aforesaid uncle and cousin the dukes of Berry and of Burgundy, and to our ambassadors, the cause of their complaints, and to remonstrate on the perils of the war that would speedily ensue unless their grievances were redressed.

'These matters having been fully discussed, proposals of peace and union between all parties were brought forward to avoid the miseries of a civil war. Many articles were agreed on: the first was, that a solid peace should be established between the princes of the blood royal, which they were solemnly to swear to observe, and mutually to exchange deeds to this effect; but every one was to have the same liberty as before of declaring his opinion.

'The whole of the articles seemed very reasonable to the members of the university of Paris and of our court of parliament, as well as to many of the good citizens of our town of Paris, who were ready to examine them more fully, and report their opinion to us on the Thursday following.

'But notwithstanding this approbation, there were some of low degree and narrow minds, who by their own authority had seized on the government of the city of Paris, and

who have been the cause of the war continuing so long, in order the better to keep their authority. These persons excited some of the princes of the blood and others to war by their false machinations, with the hope that their murders and robberies would remain unpunished, and that they should escape the vengeance due to their crimes. In consequence, by persevering in their wickedness, they practised so effectually that the meeting which had been appointed for Thursday was put off to Saturday the 5th of the month, in the expectation that they should before that day be enabled, by their base intrigues, to prevent peace from being agreed to,—the truth of which, under the pleasure of God, shall shortly be made public. But through the grace of God, the university of Paris, our chambers of parliament and of accounts, the different religious orders, and the principal inhabitants of Paris assembled,—and having many fears of the ill-intentioned preventing that peace which they most earnestly wished for, by every attempt to obstruct so great a blessing as peace and union throughout the kingdom, came to us at our hôtel of St Pol in the afternoon, and desired an audience for the purpose of remonstrating on the happy effects

that would ensue from the establishment of peace.

'They demonstrated the blessings of peace and the evils of war, and the necessity there was for proceeding instantly to the completion of the articles that had been agreed to by the ambassadors on each side,—and demanded, that the Saturday which had been fixed on should be anticipated, by naming the ensuing Friday, and that proper regulations should be made for the security of the city.

'On the Friday, those who were desirous of peace went to the town-house in the Greve, thinking to meet their friends, and come with them to us in our hôtel of St Pol; but they were prevented by those ill inclined to peace, who, though of low degree, had before come to our said hôtel, and with them some varlets, all armed under authority of the government which they had usurped over the city of Paris. —On this account, therefore, these prudent wellwishers to peace assembled in the square of St Germain de l'Auxerrois in Paris, and in other places, in great numbers and with firm courage; and though the others did every thing in their power to throw obstacles in their way, in all their attempts they were baffled.

'This assembly, on breaking up, left St Germain in regular order, as they had determined on; and on appearing in our presence, as well as in the presence of our son, our uncle and cousins, the dukes of Acquitaine, Berry, and Burgundy, with others of our council, a peace was agreed on, and the articles ordered to be carried into execution. Punishment was at the same time, to the great joy of the sober citizens, ordered to be inflicted, according to reason and justice, on all who had any way attempted to prevent a peace being made.

'Immediately after this had been done, and our will declared, our son, our uncle and our cousin aforesaid, mounted their horses, and went to set at liberty our cousin and brother-in-law the dukes of Bar and of Bavaria, who had for a long time been confined in the Louvre, and also many other knights and officers of our own and our son's households, who had been imprisoned for some time in the dungeons of the palace and of the Châtelet, by force of the aforesaid evil minded and low persons, who, now perceiving that good government was likely to be restored, according to reason and justice, hid themselves

like foxes, or fled,—and since that time, it has not been known where they may be found or arrested.

'This inclines us to fear that they may seduce others to follow their wicked example, by their dangerous and false lies, as they have before done, and that events more pernicious may ensue than what we have lately experienced, and which it concerns every one, through the grace of God, to prevent with all diligence.

'This peace is considered as so advantageous to all parties that the king of Sicily, the dukes of Orleans, of Bourbon, and the counts of Alençon and of Eu, have since sent their ambassadors to Paris, who daily attend to the due execution of all the articles of it, having fully approved of it and of every thing that has been done by us; and the rupture of this peace at this moment would cause the destruction of us, our kingdom, and of all our faithful and good subjects.

'For this cause, we expressly enjoin and command you not to give credence to any thing you may hear to the contrary,—for what we have assured you above is the real truth,—by any of these evil-minded persons who are inimical to the peace, nor to show them any

manner of favour,—but, on the contrary, to throw them into prison, and send them to us, that we may inflict such punishment on them as the heinousness of the case may require.

'And you, bailiff, will cause the above to be proclaimed in all the considerable towns and villages within your jurisdiction; and you will also require from the clergy of the different churches, collegiate and others, within your bailiwick, that they do make processions, and offer up devout prayers to Heaven, for the effecting of the above peace, and that our Lord, through his grace, would incline to make it perpetual. You will also personally be careful that there be no failing on your part in the due execution of this our will and pleasure.

'Given at Paris the 12th day of August, in the year of Grace 1413, and of our reign the 33d.' Signed by the king and his council, present the dukes of Acquitaine, of Berry, and of Burgundy, the marshal Longny. 'Ferron.'

Another edict was published by the king against men at arms and other warriors, and to secure the people against their inroads, which was sent to all the bailiwicks and seneschalships in the kingdom, of the following tenour.

'Charles, by the grace of God, king of France, to the bailiff of Amiens, or to his lieutenant, greeting.

'It has come to our knowledge, that within a short time many men at arms, archers and cross-bowmen, and other warriors, without any licence from us given, either by written orders or otherwise, have unlawfully assembled, and continue so to do, in very many places and towns of our kingdom, with the intent of marching toward our good city of Paris, and pillaging and murdering our poor subjects, and committing other ruinous acts and excesses, by which our faithful subjects are sorely oppressed, in addition to what they had before suffered, as well from the effects of the late war as from the epidemic disorder and mortality which ensued in consequence, causing the country to be deserted, whence great and irreparable evils may fall on us and our kingdom, if not speedily prevented.

'We therefore, desirous of guarding and preserving, to the utmost of our power, our people from such like plunderings and ill treatment, as we are bounden so to do,—and beside seeing a probability that the discords which have taken place between several of our

blood and kindred are likely to be put an end to,—shall use (with God's good pleasure) every means in our power to have it accomplished.

'We therefore command and strictly enjoin you, that on the receipt of this letter, you lay aside all other business whatever, and instantly cause our commands to be publicly proclaimed with a loud voice, and with sound of trumpet, in such places where proclamations have been usually made. You will also make this our pleasure known to all our captains, governors, and men at arms within any fort, castle, or forming any garrisons within your said bailiwick; and you will strictly enjoin, that no person shall dare to assemble in arms without our especial licence first had and obtained, under pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of goods. And should any such assemblies have taken place within your bailiwick, they must, on hearing the proclamation of this our pleasure, instantly disperse, and return to their homes.

'Should any bodies of men at arms have taken possession of a town or fortress within your district, you will command them, in our name, instantly to surrender it to you, and depart thence; and you will renew the garrison with such persons as you shall judge expedient,

and take the command of such town or fort yourself, until you shall receive further orders. Should they refuse to surrender themselves to you, you will make them your prisoners, and execute such justice upon them as their case may require; and should it seem necessary, you will employ force against them to reduce them to obedience, and summon to your aid all the nobles resident within your bailiwick, taking care to have a superior force to those you are about to attack, and keeping it up so long as you shall judge it right for the maintaining tranquillity in the country. And we order all our nobles, on the fealty they owe to us, to obey your orders whenever the case shall require it.

'Should it happen, that during any engagements that may take place between you and our rebellious subjects, any of them be killed or wounded, we will not that such murders be prejudicial to any one employed under your orders, but that they be acquitted and freed from all pursuits for the same hereafter, as we grant them our full pardon. We will likewise, that all arms, horses, or baggage that may be taken from any of our rebellious subjects, shall be converted toward paying the expenses of those who shall have taken and imprisoned such disobedient rebels.

'We therefore give full licence and authority to all our subjects, should they be constrained to employ force against these rebels, to seize and hold possession of any parts of their territories without ever being called to account hereafter for so doing. And we especially command all our civil officers and subjects to afford you every aid in their power, and to obey your commands.

'We also direct, that our well-beloved members of the courts of justice, all masters of requests, as well of our hôtel as of the parliament, all bailiffs and sergeants, and every other dependant on the courts of law, do suspend all processes that may have been proceeding against any of the nobles employed in executing our orders, from the day they shall have set out until fifteen days after their return, without their suffering any thing prejudicial to themselves or their possessions, or to those who may have been securities for them. Should any such acts have taken place, you will order every thing to be replaced on the same ground as before the nobles had set out on the expedition; for such is our pleasure, according to the tenour of this present letter,—a copy of which, under our royal seal, we shall send you, because the

original cannot be exhibited in all places where there may be occasion for it; and to this copy you will give equal credence as to the original letter.

'Given at Paris, the 5th day of August, in the year of Grace 1413, and of our reign the 33d.' It was signed by the king in council,—present the dukes of Acquitaine, Berry, Burgundy, Bar, the duke Louis of Bavaria, and others. Countersigned, 'Ferron.' These two edicts were carried to Amiens, and proclaimed the 20th day of the same month.

CHAP. XXIII.

THE DUKE OF ACQUITAINE ORDERS THE PRISONERS TO BE LIBERATED.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY LEAVES PARIS.—SEVERAL PRINCES ARRIVE THERE.—THEIR ACTIONS.

On the 4th day of September, the duke of Acquitaine, in consequence of the king's commands, caused all the prisoners confined within the palace to be set at liberty; and, shortly after, the whole of the furniture of

John de Troyes, then keeper of the palace, and who had gone abroad for some private affairs, was carried out of the same, in pursuance of the orders of the duke of Acquitaine, by those Parisians who had usually accompanied him. His office of keeper of the palace was taken away, and restored to him who had before holden it. In like manner were several offices in Paris restored to their former holders, namely, to Anthony des Essars, to the two dukes of Bar and of Bavaria; the former being reinstated in his government of the Louvre, and the other in that of the bastille.

When the prisoners had been set at liberty, the duke of Acquitaine ordered all the bells of the churches to ring together, and two days and nights were passed in the utmost joy and revelling throughout the town, for the re-establishment of peace, which was a delightful sight.

The lord de Viefville and sir Charles de Lens, brother to the châtelain de Lens, were arrested in the hôtel of the duke of Burgundy; but sir Robinet de Mailly, for fear of being taken, fled,—and the lord de Viefville, at the entreaty of the duke of Burgundy and his daughter, the duchess of Acquitaine, obtained

his liberty. Sir Charles was confined in the prisons of the Châtelet,—and the other, who had fled, was banished the realm.

The lord de Jacqueville, during his absence, was deprived of his government of Paris; and, hearing of this while he was at Monterau-faut-Yonne with some of his principal supporters among the butchers, they all fled to Burgundy: at the same time, Jean Caboche, master Jean de Troyes and his children, with many others of the Parisians, hastened into Flanders. Master Eustace de Lactre, the new chancellor of France, fled like the rest from Paris,—and in his place was appointed master Arnold de Corbie, who had before been chancellor of France, but, at his own request, on account of his age, had been deprived of it, when the first president of the parliament of Paris was nominated in his stead. Master John Jouemel, king's advocate, was made chancellor of Acquitaine.

Very many knights, particularly those who had been appointed commissioners to try the late prisoners, quitted Paris; and the duke of Burgundy, observing the conduct of his son-in-law the duke of Acquitaine, began to be apprehensive that he was not well pleased

with his former conduct, and that he would remember the outrages which had been committed personally against him, as well in his hôtel as elsewhere, as has been before related, and would have him arrested. He daily saw the most faithful of his adherents quit Paris privately, and without taking leave of him: some of them were even made prisoners,—and he was told that there had been guards placed round his hôtel of Artois, and that great numbers of those who had been enemies to the duke of Acquitaine were now reconciled to him.

To prevent any dangerous consequences, and to avoid the perils that might ensue, he prevailed on the king to hunt in the forest of Ville-neuve. The lord de St George accompanied him,—and when he found the opportunity favourable, he took leave of the king, saying, that he had received such intelligence from Flanders as would force him to return thither instantly, on account of the important business which he would have to transact. On saying this, he set off, and passed the wood of Bondis in much fear: he continued his road without stopping, and attended by a small company, to St Maixence,

where he lay that night. On the morrow, very early, the lord de Ront came thither to meet him, with two hundred men at arms, and thence escorted him in a few days to Lille in Flanders.

When his departure was known, the Parisians and others attached to the Orleans party began loudly to murmur against him, saying that he had fled for fear of being arrested. Those of his party who had remained in Paris were in great alarm; for daily some of them were imprisoned, and summary justice done upon them. Even the two nephews of Jean Caboche were executed, after having been for some time dragged through the streets; and the host of the hôtel of the 'huis de fer,' named Jean de Troyes, cousin-german to master Jean de Troyes, the surgeon, of whom mention has been made, suffered in like manner.

In respect to the queen, the dukes of Acquitaine, Berry, Bar and Bavaria, they were perfectly pleased and happy that the duke of Burgundy had quitted Paris, as were many of the great lords: in short, the whole town was now turned against him both in words and deeds.

It was not long before the dukes of Orleans and of Bourbon, the counts d'Alençon, de Vertus, d'Eu, de Vaudemont and de Dammartin, the archbishop of Sens, friar Jacques le Grand, and the borgne Foucault, came in handsome array to Paris; and the dukes of Berry, Bar and Bavaria, the bishop of Paris, with many nobles and citizens, went out on horseback to meet them, and escorted them, with every sign of joy, to the palace, where the king, the queen, and the duke of Acquitaine were waiting to receive them.

Their reception by the royal family was very gracious, and they all supped at the palace, after which they retired to their different hôtels in the town. On the morrow, the lord Charles d'Albreth came to Paris, when the office of constable was instantly restored to him. On the 8th day of September following, the king, at the instance of the aforesaid lords, held a grand council in the usual chamber of parliament, and issued the following edict, which was proclaimed throughout his realm.

'Charles, by the grace of God, king of France, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting.

'Whereas, during the discords and dissensions that took place between several of our blood and kindred, many damnable falsehoods have been reported to us; under pretext of which our council have been very much constrained, and our city of Paris did not enjoy its usual freedom, and ourself was not advised so loyally as we ought to have been for the honour and general welfare of the public, as it has since appeared, for several acts have been done that were partial and irregular. Others of our subjects were under the greatest alarm (and this happened to some of tried courage), for they saw that those were in danger of losing every thing dear to them who should utter the truth. In fact, several of our prelates, nobles, and members of our council were wrongfully arrested, robbed of their wealth, and forced to pay ransoms for their liberty, which caused many of our wellwishers to absent themselves from our council, and even to fly from Paris.

'Many letters patent were unjustly and damnably obtained in our name, sealed with our seal, and sent to our sovereign father, the head of Christian princes, at the holy college of Rome, and to other monarchs, declaring

that these letters were sent with our full knowledge and approbation.

'We have lately been well informed from papers that have been discovered, and laid before us in council, of a fact of which indeed we had our suspicions, that envy and malice were the grounds on which our uncle John de Berry, our nephews Charles of Orleans and his brothers, John de Bourbon, John d'Alençon, Charles d'Albreth, our cousins, and Bernard d'Armagnac, with their accomplices and supporters, were charged with the wicked and treasonable design of depriving us and all our descendants of our royal authority, and expelling us our kingdom, which God forbid! and also with the design of making a new king of France, which is an abominable thing to hear of, and must be painful even in the recital to the hearts of all our loyal subjects. In regard, therefore, to such charges, those who have made them are guilty of iniquitously imposing upon us, and are culpable of enormous crimes as well treasonable as otherwise.

'Very many defamatory libels have been written and affixed to the doors of churches, as well as distributed to several persons, and published in different places, to the great

dishonour and contempt of some of the highest of our blood, such as our very dear and well-beloved son, our well-beloved nephews and cousins, the dukes of Orleans and of Bourbon, the counts de Vertus, d'Alençon, d'Armagnac, and d'Albreth, constable of France, and against other nobles and barons, our wellwishers, consequently against ourself and our government.

'We, therefore, for these causes, do by these letters patent give permission to our said uncle, nephews, cousins, and to their adherents, to seize on and destroy the lands and property of all who may have been guilty of the aforesaid acts, declaring them to have forfeited to us both their bodies and estates.

'We the more readily consent to their being thus sorely oppressed, because they, under pretence of an ancient bull which had been issued against the free companies forty years ago, without any permission and authority, did raise and assemble companies of men at arms against us and against our realm. This bull could not any way refer, as the simple inspection of it would show, to our said son, uncle, nephew, or cousins, but was applied to them, through wicked counsel, without any authority from

our said sovereign father the pope, without any deliberations holden on the subject,—nor was any suit instituted, as was usual in such cases; but without any forms of proceeding that should have been observed, or any preceding admonitions, they were illegally, through force and partiality, condemned as excommunicated, with all their adherents and friends,—which sentence was, in defiance of truth, publicly proclaimed throughout our kingdom.

'They were likewise declared traitors and wicked persons, banished our kingdom, and deprived of all their possessions and offices. On this occasion, many injurious reports were industriously spread abroad against them, and they were themselves treated with the utmost inhumanity. Several of them were put to death without any attention being paid to their souls, like to outlaws and beasts, without administration of the sacraments of the holy church, and then thrown into ditches, or exposed in the fields, like dogs, to be devoured by the birds.

'Such acts are damnably wicked and cruel, more especially among Christians and true Catholics, and have been done at the instigation of seditious persons, disturbers of

the peace, and illwishers to our said uncle, nephews and cousins, by means of their abominable fictions in order to gain their false and wicked purposes, as we have since been more fully and truly informed.

'We therefore, desirous, as is reasonable, that such false accusations as have been brought against those of our blood and their adherents, should not remain in the state they are now in, to their great disgrace, and earnestly wishing that the real truth should be published, and reparation made for these illegal proceedings, make known that we are fully persuaded, from the information we have received, that our said uncle, son, nephews, cousins, prelates, barons, nobles, and others their partisans, have ever had loyal intentions toward our person, and have been good relatives and obedient subjects, such as they ought to be in regard to us, and that all which has been done has been treacherously, and wickedly, and surreptitiously contrived against truth and reason, at the instances and importunities of these aforesaid seditious disturbers of the peace, by whom all letters and edicts, that any way tend to tarnish their honour, have been procured under false pretences.

'We declare, by these presents, that such edicts and letters patent have been wrongfully and surreptitiously issued, and are of no weight, having been procured by those rebellious disturbers of the peace, authors of the evils that have afflicted our city of Paris, and whom we also declare guilty of high treason.

'Being desirous that the truth of these crimes should be made public, and that all may be acquainted with the real facts, to prevent any evil consequences that might ensue to us and to our realm, were they to remain in ignorance, as may happen to any prince who has subjects to govern, we therefore make known, and assert it for truth, that we being at our usual residence in Paris, in company with our very dear and well-beloved consort the queen, our very dear and well beloved son the duke of Acquitaine, our uncle the duke of Berry, with several others of our kindred, and such of our servants and councillors as were accustomed to attend on us,—it happened that on the 27th day of April last past, sir Elion de Jacqueville, Robinet de Mailly, Charles de Recourt, called de Lens, knights, William Bareau, at that time a secretary, a surgeon, named Jean de Troyes,

and his children, Thomas le Goys and his children, Garnot de Saint Yon, butcher, Symon de Coutelier, skinner of calf skins, Bau de Bordes, Andrieu Roussel, Denisot de Chaumont, master Eustace de Lactre, master Pierre Canthon, master Diusque François, master Nicolle de Saint Hilaire, master Jean Bon, master Nicolle de Quesnoy, Jean Guerin, Jean Pimorin, Jacques Laban, Guillaume Gente, Jean Parent, Jacques de Saint Laurent, Jacques de Rouen, Martin de Neauville, Martin de Coulonniers, master Toussaints Bangart, master Jean Rapiot, master Hugues de Verdun, master Laurens Calot, Jean de Rouen, son to a tripe woman of Puys Nôtre Dame, Jean Maillart, an old clothes-seller, with many others, their accomplices, of divers ranks and conditions, (who had, before this time, held frequent assemblies, and secret conspiracies in many places, both in the day and night-time) appeared in a very large body armed, with displayed standard, by way of hostility, before our said residence of Saint Pol, without our having any knowledge of such their disorderly intent.

'They proceeded thence to the hôtel of our son the duke of Acquitaine, which they

would forcibly enter, and broke open the gates of it contrary to the will of our said son, his attendants and servants. Having done this, they entered his apartment in opposition to his expostulations and prohibitions; and when there, they seized by force and violence our cousin-german the duke of Bar, the chancellor of our said son, with many other nobles our chamberlains and counsellors to our son, and carried them away whithersoever they pleased: some of them they confined in close imprisonment, where they detained them so long as they were able. These excesses raised the anger of our son in so violent a degree that he was in danger of suffering a serious disorder from it.

'The said seditious rebels, persisting in their wicked courses, came to us in our hôtel of St Pol, when they proposed, or caused to be proposed, whatever seemed good to them, positively declaring, however, that they would have certain persons, whose names were written down in a small roll, which they had with them, which persons were then in our company. —Among the number were Louis duke of Bavaria, brother to our consort the queen, and many other nobles, our knights, counsellors,

the master of our household, with numbers of our servants of different ranks and conditions. These they arrested by force against our will, and carried them to prison, or wherever else they pleased, as they had done to the others.

'After this, they entered the apartments of the queen our consort, and in her presence, and contrary to her will, they seized many ladies and damsels, several of whom were of our kindred, and carried them away to prison, as they had done to the others. This disloyal and indecent conduct so greatly alarmed our dear consort the queen, that she was in great danger of losing her life from the illness that ensued.

'After the imprisonment of these several persons of both sexes, the insurgents proceeded against them, contrary to all law and justice, by very severe tortures, and even put to death many of the nobility in the prisons, afterward publishing that they had killed themselves. Their bodies they hung on gibbets, or flung them into the Seine. Some they beheaded privately while in prison. With regard to the ladies whom they had arrested, they treated them most inhumanly; and although they were urgently pressed to allow the laws to

take their course, in regard to these prisoners, and that the court of parliament, as was reasonable, should take cognizance of them, they positively refused every request of the sort, and had letters drawn up as seemed good to them, and to which they had the great seal of our chancery set by force, and, besides, constrained our son to sign all their acts with our seals manual, as approving of their deeds.

'That they might have the chancellor the more under their command, to seal whatever edicts they should please to have proclaimed, they dismissed from that office our well-beloved Arnold de Corbie, who had so long and so faithfully served us, and put in his place master Eustace de Lactre, by whom letters were sealed and issued contrary to all truth, but conformable to the acts of these wicked men. We were deceived by them, from want of able counsellors, and from freedom of speech not being permitted, as has before been noticed.

'All these letters, therefore, and edicts mandatory that have been published to the dishonour of our said uncle, nephews, cousins, and their friends and adherents, we holding a bed of justice in our court of parliament, in the presence of many of our blood-royal,

prelates, churchmen, as well members of the university of Paris, our daughter, as from elsewhere, several great barons, and other able persons of our council, and many principal citizens of Paris, do now annul, condemn and for ever annihilate. And we forbid all our subjects, under pain of incurring our highest indignation, to act, by word or deed, any way hereafter contrary to the strict tenour of this our will and pleasure. Should any of these disgraceful acts be produced in courts of justice, we forbid any faith to be placed in them, and order them to be torn and destroyed wherever they may be found.

'In consequence whereof, we command our beloved and faithful counsellors of our parliament, our provost of Paris, and all others our bailiffs, seneschals, provosts and officers of justice, or their lieutenants, each and all of them to cause this our present edict to be publicly proclaimed by sound of trumpet in the usual places where proclamations are made, that none may plead ignorance of this our will. And we also command, that it be publicly read by all prelates and clergymen, or such as have usually preached to the people, that in time to come they may not again be seduced by similar evil machinations.

'We also order, that as full obedience be paid to all copies of these presents, sealed with our seal, as to the original. In testimony of which, we have set our seal to these presents. Given in our great chamber of the parliament of Paris, at a bed of justice holden the 12th day of September, in the year 1413.

'By the king, holding his bed of justice in his court of parliament.' Countersigned, 'Baye.'—This ordinance was, consequently, proclaimed in Amiens* on the 15th day of December following.

CHAP. XXIV.

THE DUKE OF BRITTANY COMES TO PARIS.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY HOLDS A COUNCIL AT LILLE.—THE ACTIONS OF THE COUNT DE ST POL,—AND OTHER MATTERS THAT HAPPENED AT THIS TIME.

At this period, John duke of Brittany, son in law to the king, came to Paris, with his brother

* The name of the city of Amiens is inserted in this and in most of the former state-papers merely by way of

the count de Richemont. The duke d'Evreux * and the earl of Rutland arrived there also from England, to treat of the marriage of their king with Catherine daughter to the king of France, and to prevent the alliance which the duke of Burgundy was desirous of forming between the king of England and his daughter †. These ambassadors, having explained to the king of France and his ministers the cause of their coming, returned to England.

The duke of Burgundy, during this time, was holding a grand council at Lille, which

example. It was probably the nearest bailiwick to Monstrelet's place of residence, and the edicts, &c. which he inspected were those directed to this particular bailiff.

* There was clearly no such person as the duke d'Evreux; but the earl of Rutland himself was also duke of Aumerle; and, both being norman titles, Monstrelet might have confounded them. But I can find no mention of an embassy in which the earl of Rutland was concerned.

† Monstrelet must have mistaken the names of these ambassadors; for in the Fœdera mention is made of a promise from the king of England, by his commissioners, the bishop of Durham, the earl of Warwick and doctor Ware ‡, 'De non contrahendo, citra certum diem, cum aliqua alia muliere, nisi cum Katerina Franciæ, matrimonio.'—Dated Westminster, 28th January 1414.

‡ This, however, seems to refer to the second embassy mentioned after.

was attended by deputies from Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, the Quatre Mestiers, and by many nobles: among the latter was count Waleran de St Pol, constable of France, who had just concluded the negotiation with the English at Boulogne and Leulinghen. The envoys from England were the earl of Warwick and the bishop of St Davids, and others, who were commissioned to treat of a truce between the two kings, which was agreed on to last until the feast of St John the Baptist next ensuing.

The count de St Pol, when on this business, received letters from the king of France, ordering him to come to Paris and surrender the constable's sword. Finding that it was intended to deprive him of this office, he came to ask advice of the duke of Burgundy, who counselled him not to obey these orders; and in consequence, he went to his castle of St Pol en Ternois, where his lady resided, and thence to Amiens, and there tarried four days.

From Amiens, he sent to Paris, as ambassadors to the king of France, his nephew the count de Conversen and the vidame of Amiens, attended by master Robert le Jeusne, advocate at Amiens, to harangue the king on the subject of their embassy. On their arrival,

the advocate opened his harangue in full council before the king, the chancellor and the other members of it, saying, that the constable, the count de St Pol, his lord and master, had never been of any party which had disturbed the realm; that he had never raised any troops, nor had attacked any of the king's castles, as several others had done.

When he had finished his speech, he was required to produce those who would vouch for what he had said, as had been done in similar cases; but the ambassadors would not support him, and he was instantly arrested and confined in the prisons of the Châtelet, where he remained for two days; and it was with great difficulty that the duke of Bar, brother in law to the count de St Pol, by his entreaties, obtained his liberty.

On Saturday, the day after the feast of St Mor*, the count de St Pol left Amiens, and returned dispirited and melancholy to his own county.

Other royal edicts were now published at Paris and sent to all parts of the kingdom for proclamation, complaining of the great disorders that had been committed in the

* St Mor. Q. St Maur?

capital by the Parisians, to the great displeasure of the queen and the duke of Acquitaine.—I shall not particularise these edicts, for the atrocious acts of the Parisians have been already sufficiently declared.

Soon after these proclamations, the duke of Orleans, conformably to the articles of the peace, demanded of the king restitution of his castles of Pierrefons and Coucy, which the count de St Pol had refused to surrender to him. His request was granted, and orders were sent to sir Gasselins du Bos, bailiff of Sens, to go thither and receive the homage due to the king,—and thus they were restored to the duke of Orleans.

On the following Saturday, the count d'Armagnac, and Clugnet de Brabant, knight, came to Paris with a numerous company of men at arms, and were received by the king, lords and barons, with great joy. All, or the greater part of those who had followed the faction of the duke of Orleans, now came to Paris,—and the affairs of the nation were governed according to their good pleasure, for the king and the duke of Acquitaine were at this time under their management. With regard to the Burgundy-faction, they were kept at

a distance, and could scarcely ever obtain an audience, how high soever their rank might be, insomuch that such as had remained in the town were forced to hold down their heads, and to hear many things that were neither pleasant nor agreeable to them.

CHAP. XXV.

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY HOLDS MANY COUNCILS TO CONSIDER OF HIS SITUATION, FEARING THAT HIS ENEMIES WOULD TURN THE KING AGAINST HIM, WHICH THEY AFTERWARDS DID *.

THE duke of Burgundy, while these things were passing, resided in the town of Lille,

* At the head of this chapter, in the edition of Monstrelet in Lincoln's-inn Library, (which is the black letter of Anthoine Verard,—I can find no date), is a curious wooden print, representing, perhaps, the duke of Burgundy and his lords in council; but I do not understand what the figures of dead bodies in the back ground are meant for.

I should suspect that the print is misplaced, and is meant to describe the bloody entry of the duke into Paris some time after.

where he had assembled many great lords to consult and have their advice respecting the situation he was then in. He received almost daily intelligence from Paris, and learnt how his enemies governed the king and the duke of Acquitaine, and were labouring to keep those of his party at a distance from the royal presence, in order to prevent their receiving any marks of favour or benevolence.

The duke formed various opinions on this intelligence, and suspected, what indeed afterward happened, that his adversaries would succeed in setting the king and the duke of Acquitaine at variance with him, and in the end making war upon him. He was, however, prepared to meet whatever events might befal him.

At this period, the earl of Warwick, the bishop of St Davids, and others, waited upon him, to treat of a marriage between the king of England and a daughter of the duke, notwithstanding the embassy that had been sent to the king of France on a similar subject. These ambassadors and the duke of Burgundy could not agree on the terms of alliance, and they consequently returned to England.

On the 4th day of October, the lords d'Offemont and de Moy came to St Pol en

Ternois, by orders from the king of France, to demand from the count de St Pol, that he would surrender to them, or send to the king, his constable's sword. The count replied, that he would never willingly, nor without the advice of his friends, comply with such a request, but that he would refer the matter to the counsel of his friends, and would shortly send such an answer that the king should be satisfied therewith. These lords, having heard this, returned to Paris, after having been honourably entertained by the constable, and related to the king and council what they had done, which was not any way agreeable to those who had sent them.

This same day, another royal edict was published against all who should not strictly keep the peace, forbidding every one to spread abroad any evil reports that would tend to create discord and commotion, and to call any one by such sirnames as should engender strife, and renew the mischiefs that had so lately desolated the kingdom. It was proclaimed throughout France, and was of the following tenour.

'Charles, by the grace of God, king of France, to the bailiff of Amiens, or to his lieutenant, greeting.

'It has come to our knowledge, that whereas by great and mature deliberation of council, and by the aid and diligence of many of our blood and other discreet men of our realm, we have, by the grace of God, established a peace between several of our kindred, among whom disputes and discords had arisen and continued for a considerable time. We have first shown all the points of the treaties that had been proposed, after mature council, as well to those of our blood and great council as to the prelates, barons, and knights of our different courts of parliament, and to other officers of justice in the court of the Conciergerie, and also to our well-beloved daughter the university of Paris, the clergy and citizens of our capital, who have been all delighted therewith, and have unanimously supplicated us to complete the peace, which, through the mercy of God, we have done.

'For the greater security of its observance, our very dear and well beloved eldest son, nephews, uncle and cousins,—that is to say, Louis duke of Acquitaine, dauphin of Vienne, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Orleans, Brittany, Bourbon, and of Bar,—the counts d'Alençon, Vertus, Richemont, d'Eu, Vendosme, and many

others of our blood,—have promised and sworn in our presence, on the word of a son to a king and a prince, on part of a piece of the true cross, and upon the holy evangelists of God touched corporally by them, never more in any respect to misbehave toward us, but to pay a due regard to their own honour and rank, and henceforward to act toward each other like to kind relations and friends.

'This they declare they have done without any fraud, deception, or mental reservation, and promise most faithfully to observe this union, and to deposit in our hands their several letters patent.

'In like manner have the different ranks of our faithful subjects promised and sworn to the due observance of that affection, loyalty, and service they owe to us, and that they will most strictly keep this aforesaid peace concluded between the princes of our blood,—and that they will, to the utmost of their power, prevent it from being in any way infringed, as is more fully explained in others of our letters patent.

'Nevertheless, there are, as we learn, several within your bailiwick full of evil intentions, who, believing that no proceedings will take place against them for any commotions

they may excite, and that they may remain unpunished in body or goods, do daily spread abroad reports injurious to the said peace, and by wicked murmurings endeavour to raise discontents against it, and also to make use of such odious sirnames as have been by this peace strictly forbidden, and by other acts and speeches urge on the people to dissensions that may produce fresh warfare; which things are highly, and not without cause, displeasing to us.

'We will, that the aforesaid peace be most strictly kept, and such is our firm intention, that all means of future dissensions may be put an end to, and that every kind of warfare cease in our kingdom, so that each person may henceforward live in peace and tranquillity. We therefore command, that you do instantly cause these presents to be most solemnly proclaimed by sound of trumpet in every part within your bailiwick wherever any proclamations have been or are usually made.

'Our will and purpose is, to preserve this peace most strictly inviolate, and to observe it in the manner that has been so solemnly sworn to in our presence, without suffering it to be infringed by any person whatever. And we expressly command that you do most attentively

regard its preservation, and that you do make very exact inquiries after all who may in any manner attempt its infringement. We rigorously forbid any factious sirnames to be used, and all other words and expressions that have a tendency to revive past dissensions, under pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of goods. And any such whom you shall find disobeying these our commands you will punish in such wise that he or they be examples to deter others from committing the like,—and see that there be no failure in this through any fault or neglect of your own.

'For the due fulfilment of these our commands, we give full powers, as well to yourself as to your deputies and under officers, notwithstanding any letters, edicts, prohibitions, oppositions, or appeals to the contrary. Given at Paris, the 6th day of October, 1413.'—— Signed by the king in his great council, in the presence of the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry, Orleans, Bourbon, the counts de la Marche, d'Alençon, d'Eu, Vendosme, Armagnac, the constable, the count de Tancarville, the grand master of the household, the master of the cross-bows, the admiral, the chancellors of Acquitaine

and of Orleans, the lords d'Oyrront*, de Torcy, de Ray de Boyssay, de Bauquille, l'hermite de la Fayette, and many more.—Countersigned, 'P. Naucron.'

This edict was afterwards proclaimed at Amiens, and in that bailiwick, on the 3d day of November in the same year.

CHAP. XXVI.

DUKE LOUIS OF BAVARIA MARRIES AT PARIS.—OF THOSE WHO HAD BEEN BANISHED ON ACCOUNT OF THE DISCORDS BETWEEN THE DUKES OF ORLEANS AND BURGUNDY,—AND OF MANY OTHER INCIDENTAL MATTERS.

In these days, duke Louis of Bavaria, brother to the queen of France, espoused, at the hôtel of St Pol, the widow of the lord Peter de Navarre, formerly count de Mortain. At this wedding, the king and many others of the princes tilted, for there were very grand feasts on the occasion.

On the morrow, sir Robinet de Mailly, sir Elyon de Jacqueville, les Goys, namely,

* D'Oyrront. Q. D'Orgemont?

father and son, master John de Troyes, Denisot de Chaumont, Caboche, and others who have been before mentioned as having suits brought against them in parliament, were for ever banished from Paris. The duke of Burgundy very soon received information of this, as he was at St Omer, where he had assembled the nobility of Artois, to deliberate on the subject of taxes, and they had granted him one equal to what the king annually levied. He was not well pleased with this intelligence, for the greater part of those who had been banished were then with him; and they daily urged him to march a powerful army to Paris, assuring him, that if he would appear before it, the Parisians would instantly declare for him, and drive his enemies out of the town. The duke, however, being otherwise advised, would not comply with their request.

About this time there was a violent quarrel between the dukes of Orleans and Brittany, on the subject of precedency, insomuch that it came to the ears of the king, who decided for the duke of Orleans. On this, the duke of Brittany left Paris in ill humour; but before he departed, he had some high words with his brother-in-law the count d'Alençon, in consequence of his

telling him that he had in his heart a lion as big as a child of one year old, which greatly angered the duke, and caused a hatred between them.

At this period, the borgne de la Heuse was, by the king's order, dismissed from the provostship of Paris, and master Andrieu Marchant, advocate in the parliament, appointed in his stead. Sir Guichart Daulphin, grand master of the king's household, the lord de Rambures, master of the cross-bows of France, and sir Anthony de Craon, were also dismissed, by order of the duke of Acquitaine, and commanded not to return to Paris until the king should send for them. In like manner were three hundred persons, as well men as women, driven out of Paris because they were attached to the party of the duke of Burgundy.

The count de Vendosme was made grand master of the cross-bows, and several were restored to their former offices.

About this time, sixteen hundred horse, whom the duke had sent for from Burgundy, marched through Champagne, the Cambresis, and thence into Artois. The duke was at

Lille, and with him the count de St Pol, who had come thither to consult him whether or not he should surrender the constable's sword. The duke advised him to retain it, and said that he would support him to the utmost of his power. In consequence, the count sent the vidame of Amiens again to Paris, to inform the king and his council of his intention to keep the constable's sword.

Another edict, to forbid any persons whatever from bearing arms, was now published, the tenour of which was as follows.

'Charles, by the grace of God, king of France, to the bailiff of Amiens, or to his lieutenant, greeting.

'Since, through the Divine Grace, we have succeeded in establishing a peace between some of our kindred, among whom discords and dissensions had taken place,—on which we ordered, that all foreign men at arms and archers should instantly quit our kingdom, and no longer live upon and harrass our subjects, as they had been accustomed to do, and which was highly displeasing to us,—

'Know ye, that we will that this our order be most strictly obeyed, and that nothing

be done to the contrary, to the oppression of our said subjects, or to their hindrance in living under us in peace and tranquillity. For this, and other sufficient reasons which move us, we expressly command you to cause this our pleasure to be publicly proclaimed by sound of trumpet, in all places within your bailiwick where proclamations have been usually made, that no knight or noble esquire, of whatever rank he may be, shall put on arms or attend to the commands of any superior lord whatever to begin and carry on a warfare in any part of our realm, under pain of forfeiture of his goods and estate, unless he shall have our especial commands for so doing.

'All such as you shall find acting contrary to this our order you will punish, so that they may be examples for others; and you will seize on all their goods and chattels for our use, because they have been guilty of disobedience and disloyalty towards us their sovereign lord, without having received our commands. Be careful that this order be obeyed, and not neglected through any fault of yours.

'Given at the Bois de Vincennes, the 22d day of October, in the year of Grace 1413, and of our reign the 33d.'

It was signed by the king in his great council,—present the lord de Preaulx *, the count de Tancarville, the lords de Montenay and de Cambrillac, Pierre de l'Esclut, and several others. This edict was proclaimed in Amiens the 12th day of November following.

On the Monday preceding the feast of All-saints, the duke of Burgundy gave a grand entertainment at Lille. The Monday and Tuesday, the knights and esquires tilted, namely, the duke himself, his son the count de Charolois, the duke of Brabant and the count de Nevers, his brothers.

Soon after this feast was over, and the company departed, the lord de Dampierre, admiral of France, the bishop of Evreux, and others, came to Lille as ambassadors from the king of France, and commanded the duke, in the king's name, by virtue of their royal orders, not to enter into any treaty or agreement with the king of England, for the marriage of his daughter or otherwise, under pain of having his estates confiscated. They summoned him to surrender to the king

* James de Bourbon, grand butler of France, son to James I. count de la Marche, and uncle to the present counts de la Marche and Vendôme, and lord of Carency.

three castles which were garrisoned by his men, namely, Cherbourg, Caen, and Crotoy,—and ordered him, on his allegiance, to maintain the peace he had so solemnly sworn to observe with the duke of Orleans, his brothers, their friends and adherents. The duke, on hearing these commands, made no reply whatever to the ambassadors, but called for his boots, and rode off instantly for Oudenarde. The ambassadors returned to Rolaincourt le Châtel, which belonged to the admiral, on the eve of Saint Martin, and thence came to Paris.

CHAP. XXVII.

THE KING OF FRANCE, FEARING THE PEACE WOULD BE BROKEN, PUBLISHES OTHER EDICTS FOR ITS PRESERVATION THROUGHOUT THE REALM, AND ALSO RESPECTING THE COIN.

The king of France, suspecting that the peace lately concluded at Pontoise would be broken, by several who were endeavouring to excite fresh disturbances by their seditious speeches, published the following edict,

'Charles, by the grace of God, king of France, to all those to whom these presents may come, greeting.

'Since it is a duty appertaining to our royal majesty, as well as to all princes who have subjects to govern, and consonant to the establishment and ordinance of God, appointed by the divine, canon, and civil law, that a good and strict police should be observed and supported for the well governing and keeping in peace our people, and to avoid all wars and intestine divisions, which we have always had most earnestly at heart, and are determined to prevent as much as shall lie within our power, —It has, however, happened, that quarrels and dissensions have arisen between some of the princes of our blood, whence have sprung intestine warfares, to the great detriment of our subjects residing within towns, as well as of those employed in rural affairs.

'We have, through the wholesome advice of many discreet and wise persons of our blood and council, as well as of our daughter the university of Paris, and several of its citizens, concluded a peace between the contending parties, which each has most solemnly sworn, on the holy relic of the true cross, most

faithfully to preserve, and not invalidate in the smallest trifle. On this occasion, we have overlooked and pardoned the crimes that have been committed during these divisions in our good city of Paris.

'We have also given our letters of pardon, tied with silken cords and sealed with green wax; and this peace, so sworn, we have had proclaimed throughout our kingdom, and wherever else we have thought it necessary, so that no one may plead ignorance of it, and carry on a warfare from partiality or attachment to either of the late contending parties, or by murmurs or seditious words endeavour to infringe this peace, and renew the dissensions that have so much distressed our realm, by any means, or in any measure whatever.

'It has, notwithstanding, come to our knowledge, that many evil-disposed persons, as well within our town of Paris as elsewhere, and of various ranks and conditions, do privately murmur, and use many seditious expressions in their secret meetings, in order to overturn this peace, and attempt to excite the commonalty of Paris to second their damnable ends and intentions,—to stir up a mortal war to our evident disadvantage, to the

peril of our realm and government,—to put an end to all legal justice, and to the destruction of all good and loyal subjects who are desirous of peace. This conduct imperiously demands an efficient and speedy remedy, to prevent the dangers that might otherwise ensue.

'Know ye, that we have held divers councils on the above with the princes of our blood, and with our wisest and most prudent counsellors, to provide and to determine on the most effectual means to check such treasonable practices. We therefore order and enjoin, by these presents, that whoever may have knowledge of any person or persons, who, since the signature of the peace at Pontoise, have murmured, or do murmur, or spread abroad any factious words or expressions, to excite the populace against the said peace, or shall have knowledge of any conspiracy or damnable secret meetings, and will denounce them to any of our officers of justice, so that legal cognizance may be taken of the same, shall, on the conviction of such persons, receive one third part of the goods and estates that may, in consequence of the sentence or sentences passed on them, be adjudged to ourself. And we further will, that this our

edict be published throughout the realm, that all diligence may be used to discover such traitors as are seditiously active in disturbing the peace, so that punishment may be inflicted upon them according to the heinousness of their offences, as violators of the peace, and to serve for an example to others. We will that full credit be given to the copies of these presents, the same as if they were the original.

'We therefore give it in command to our bailiff of Amiens, or to his lieutenant, and to all others our officers and subjects within our realm, each as it may behove him, to see that the above ordinance be duly and diligently put into execution, and that it be no way neglected. In witness whereof, we have to these presents affixed our seal.

'Given at Paris the last day but one of October, in the year of Grace 1413, and of our reign the 33d.' Signed by the king in his great council,—present the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry, of Orleans, the counts de Vertus, d'Eu, de Richemont, de Vendosme, the constable of France, the archbishop of Sens, and several others. Countersigned, 'Gontier.'

This edict was proclaimed in Amiens the 15th day of December, in the same year.

The king was at this period busied in making some regulations respecting the coin, and in consequence issued an edict, which he ordered to be promulgated throughout the kingdom: the tenour of it was as follows:

'Charles, by the grace of God, king of France, to the bailiff of Amiens, or to his lieutenant, greeting.

'Know ye, that in order to provide for the security of the public welfare of our kingdom, and to obviate the great varieties of coins that for some time have had currency in our realm, we do ordain, after mature deliberation with our council, that a coin be struck of the form of deniers, called Gros, which shall be current for twenty deniers tournois, and of five sols to five deniers, the fourth part of a denier of the poids de marc of Paris,—and coins of half a gros and half a quarter of a gros, twenty sols six deniers tournois being the value of each,—also small crowns, of the value of fifteen sols tournois each. Those gros, half gros, quarter gros, which have been formerly coined, and blancs

of ten deniers, and of five deniers, shall have currency with the new money.

'We therefore command and enjoin you to make this our will respecting the regulation of our coin as public as possible, so that no one may plead ignorance of it,—and you will cause this edict to be proclaimed in all the usual places of your bailiwick. You will observe its regulations without favour or affection to any one, and punish such as may act contrary thereto, that they may be examples to others.

'Given at Paris the 13th day of November in the year of Grace 1413, and of our reign the 33d.' It was thus signed by the king on the report of the council held in the chamber of accounts,—present the archbishop of Bourges, the bishop of Noyon, the members of the chamber of accounts, the officers of the treasury, the master and monoyers of the mint, and countersigned, 'Le Begue.'

It is true, that the king was fearful beyond measure of the peace being interrupted; and, anxiously desirous of preventing it from being infringed, he issued another edict much stronger than the preceding ones to all the bailiffs and seneschals in his kingdom.

'Charles, by the grace of God, king of France, to the bailiff of Amiens, or to his lieutenant, greeting.

'Whereas during the time we were last at Auxerre, through the Divine Providence, and great deliberation of council, we succeeded in the establishment of peace between some of the princes of our blood, and between our subjects, which was afterward confirmed in our good town of Paris. Our princes then faithfully promised to keep this peace without any way infringing it, or suffering it to be infringed by others.

'We, considering that peace is advantageous to us, our realm, and our subjects, and reflecting upon the manifold and numberless evils that would result should it be broken, are desirous to preserve it with our whole heart, and to prevent it from being in the smallest degree infringed.

'For these and other considerations that move us, we strictly charge you to have these presents publicly proclaimed with sound of trumpet in all the accustomed places within your bailiwick; and that you forbid all persons to obey any summons or proclamations that

may have been issued by any of the princes of our blood, in their own or in our name, of whatever rank or condition he may be,—or whether any such shall be issued under pretext of serving us, or on any colour or pretence whatever. And you will strictly charge all vassals not to obey any such summons, or to bear arms accordingly, under pain of forfeiture of body and estate to us, and of suffering such punishment as may be adjudged for their disobedience to us and to our crown. Should any vassals be already set out to join their respective lords, or about to do so, you will command them to return instantly to their homes, and not to depart thence until they shall receive our letters patent, under our great seal, to that purpose, signed in our great council subsequent to the date of these presents.

'You will also make proclamation, that for this occasion only we do exempt all our loyal subjects, vassals to any lord, from obeying his summons; and we will that for this their disobedience they do not suffer in body or estate, or be pursued in any courts of justice; but our intention is to guard and preserve them

from all oppression by every legal means, or, should it be necessary, by force of arms.

'You will hasten to all places within your jurisdiction where you shall know there are any assemblies of men at arms, and forbid them to proceed any further, commanding them to return to their homes, under the penalties aforesaid. Should they refuse to obey you, and become rebellious to your commands, you will force them to obedience by every means in your power; by placing within their mansions, and on their estates, men who shall destroy and waste them, by uncovering their houses, or by any the most rigorous means, even by force of arms, should there be occasion, calling to your aid our good and faithful subjects, so that you may have sufficient power to make yourself obeyed; and we command all our subjects to pay due respect to your orders, so that the end proposed may be obtained. Should any who disobey you be killed or wounded in the conflict, we will that no legal steps be pursued against you or your supporters; and should any horses, baggage, or other effects, be taken from these rebellious subjects, we will that they remain in full

possession to the captors, or to those who shall have assisted you.

'In regard to such as you shall have had due information of being disobedient to these our commands, you will arrest them any where but in places of sanctuary, and have them conveyed, under sufficient escorts, to our prisons of the Châtelet in Paris. Should you not find them out of sanctuary, you will leave a process of citation at such of their houses as may be within your jurisdiction; otherwise you will summon them with a loud voice, and with sound of trumpet, at the places in which they usually assemble, to appear before us on a certain day at our court of parliament in Paris. Should it happen to be the vacation of parliament, when there are not any pleadings, they must appear at the next sittings, under pain of confiscation of their goods, their fiefs and tenements, for having committed treason against us, and of being proceeded against by our attorney-general in such wise as he in his judgment shall think fit.

'You will take possession of all the effects, moveable and immoveable, of such as you shall have served processes upon, making out a just inventory of the same, and placing

them in such safe hands that, should it be judged expedient, they may be faithfully restored, notwithstanding any opposition or appeals to the contrary, until our faithful counsellors, holding our courts of parliament, shall have determined on what you have done, according to the report which you shall deliver to them under your seal. We shall order these our counsellors, after having heard the parties, not to delay doing strict justice on such as shall have been disobedient to our commands, and to use such diligence that you may not suffer; for should there be any neglect on your part in the execution of these our commands, we shall have you punished for the same, that you may serve for an example to others.

'We have noticed that you have not been active in carrying into effect different orders which we have sent to you on this subject since the peace concluded at Auxerre, from which many inconveniences have arisen, which have given us, and not without cause, much displeasure against you. We therefore command you to report to us what you shall have done in the execution of these our orders, the days and places where you shall have proclaimed them, that we may have due

information of the measures which you shall take; and you will likewise report to us whether any princes of our blood, or others, are assembling men at arms, and at what places. Instantly on such intelligence coming to our knowledge, we will give you further orders, and full powers to carry them into effect; and we shall command all our officers of justice, in the most express manner, to obey and assist you therein to the utmost of their power. They will give you counsel, aid, and the use of their prisons, should need be, and should you call on them for assistance,—for such is our pleasure, and thus we order it, notwithstanding any letters and ordinances surreptitiously obtained to the contrary.

'Given at Paris, the 11th day of November, in the year of Grace 1413, and of our reign the 33d.' Signed by the king in his great council,—present the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry and Orleans, the counts d'Alençon, de Vertus, the duke of Bar, Louis of Bavaria, the counts d'Eu, Vendosme, and de Richemont, the constable, the chancellor of Acquitaine, and several more.

This edict was proclaimed in Amiens the 13th day of December, in the same year.

Here follows another edict of the king of France, to forbid knights or esquires to obey the summons of any lord, under certain penalties.

'Charles, by the grace of God, king of France, to the bailiff of Amiens, or to his lieutenant, greeting.

'It has come to our knowledge, that although the restoration of peace has put an end to all those assemblies of men at arms, and obviated the great inconveniences that usually ensued from them; and that although we have caused it to be proclaimed in our good town of Paris, and elsewhere throughout the realm, that no persons whatever should in future hold such assemblies, but that all persons should retire to their own homes under pain of incurring our displeasure, and forfeiting life and estate, yet our subjects, whether in Picardy or in other parts, instead of showing due obedience to this our command, have assembled in arms without our licence in the aforesaid country, and elsewhere in the kingdom, as we have had information, disturbing and infringing the peace, and thus acting expressly contrary to our positive commands, to the injury of our subjects and kingdom,—and greater would

ensue, were we not provided with a suitable remedy.

'We therefore, after due deliberation of council, do most strictly order and enjoin you, by these presents, that you positively forbid, under pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of goods, all nobles or others within your bailiwick, of whatever condition or rank they may be, to arm themselves or to attend any congregations of men at arms, under pretence of serving us, or in consequence of summons from others, without our especial order and licence so to do, by letters from our council of a subsequent date to these presents. Should any such assemblies have actually taken place, you will order them instantly to depart in peace, without injuring the country, and return to their homes.

'In case any one should prove rebellious, and refuse compliance with your orders, you will instantly arrest him, and take possession in our name of all his goods, estates, fiefs, and every article of his property, making out an exact inventory of all, which you will intrust to the care of persons sufficiently responsible, so that the whole may be restored, should we see occasion for the same. You will place in

their fortresses and castles such persons as shall be wealthy enough to keep them in a proper state, until the matter shall be decided by our great council. You will arrest, imprison, and punish all who shall act contrary to these our commands; and that you may have sufficient force to effect this, you will call to your aid all our loyal subjects and our faithful allies, as well within as without your jurisdiction, and in such numbers as you shall judge expedient.

'We therefore command all our vassals, on their faith and loyalty, and under pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of effects, that they do instantly obey your summons, and arm themselves to support you in the carrying these presents into complete execution. You will be careful that there be no failure on your part, for we shall call you severely to account for any neglect. To accomplish this our purpose, we delegate to you full power and authority, and we command all our officers of justice, and others our allies and wellwishers, to attend diligently to your orders, and to afford you every assistance of which you may be in need.

'We also enjoin all our well-beloved counsellors of our parliament, masters of

requests in our household, those employed in the courts of request of our palace in Paris, the provost of Paris, you bailiff, and you lieutenant, and all other officers of justice within our realm and their lieutenants, and each of them as the case may happen, that you do withhold all legal proceedings for quarrels, debts, or other suits that may any way attach such persons, noble or otherwise, as may be in your company for the better executing these presents, for the space of fifteen days after their return home from assisting you, and that you keep an exact account of the time, without suffering any injury to be offered to them or their sureties; and should any thing prejudicial to them be attempted, you will see that all things be replaced precisely in the state they were in at the time he or they came to your aid, for such is our pleasure according to the tenour of these presents,—to the copy of which (for the original cannot be carried every where), under our royal signet, we will that the same credence be given as if it were the original.

'Given at Paris the 14th day of November, in the year of Grace 1413, and of our reign the 33d.' Signed by the king in his great council,

—present the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry, of Orleans, and of Bar, the counts d'Alençon, de Vertus, d'Eu, de Vendosme, de Tancarville, the constable, the chancellor of Acquitaine, with others. Countersigned, 'P. Naucron.' It was proclaimed in Amiens, the 13th day of December of the same year.

CHAP. XXVIII.

THE KING OF SICILY SENDS BACK THE DAUGHTER OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—THE DUKE WRITES LETTERS TO THE KING OF FRANCE, CONTAINING REMONSTRANCES, AND OTHER MATTERS.

On the 20th day of November, in this year, the king of Sicily sent back to the city of Beauvais, Catherine daughter to John duke of Burgundy, who had been betrothed to Louis, the king of Sicily's eldest son, according to treaties that had been entered into between the two parties, and in consequence of which the duke had caused her to be most honourably escorted to Angers. But the king afterward

sent her back, attended by the lord de Longny, marshal of France, and others, to the amount of six score horse, knights, esquires, ladies and damsels, belonging to the duke of Burgundy, who had sent them for that purpose. By them she was conducted in great sorrow to Amiens, and thence to her father at Lille, who was much vexed on the occasion, and conceived thereat a mortal hatred to the king of Sicily, which lasted all their lives.

Shortly after, this lady Catherine of Burgundy, who was, for her tender years, a very gracious lady, died in Ghent, without ever having been married.

In this same month, the duke of Burgundy sent letters to the king of France at Paris, containing his respectful salutations, his complaints and his accusations against his enemies, the contents of which were as follow.

'John duke of Burgundy, count of Flanders, of Artois, and palatine of Burgundy: my most-redoubted and dear lord, I recommend myself most humbly to you, being perpetually desirous, as is right, to hear of the good estate of your health,—and may God, in his gracious pleasure, continue it to you in the best possible

manner, according to your good desire and wishes! I most earnestly supplicate you, my most-redoubted and beloved lord, that I may as often as possible be ascertained of this from yourself, for God knows how much I wish your prosperity; and I cannot have greater joy in this world than to hear satisfactory news of you,—and may God, out of his holy grace, grant that I may alway hear such as may be agreeable to you, and such as I may wish for myself! Should it please you, my most redoubted and dear lord, to know how I am, I was in excellent health on the departure of these letters, thanks to God,—and may he alway continue you in the same! Most dear and redoubted lord, I presume that it is in your good remembrance, that by your proclamation, issued by advice of my most redoubted lord the duke of Acquitaine, your son, and by my advice also, and by that of many lords of your blood, and of your grand council, and at the earnest and humble request of your daughter the university of Paris, and of the clergy of the said city, of the provost of merchants and the sheriffs, and in general of other good people of your said city, were notified certain ordinances, as well of your

grand council aforesaid, as of many other great lords and counsellors, of myself, of the university aforesaid, and of the clergy of the aforesaid city of Paris, for the effecting of peace and union among the lords of your blood, as the only means for the reparation of the miseries the whole kingdom suffered under, which was in thorough desolation, and must have been destroyed if God had not inspired you with a desire of peace. By these means, each loyal subject of your realm may have the hope of sleeping in peace and tranquillity, as was most notably said and explained in your presence, and before many of the princes of your blood and others, by a very able knight, counsellor to my very dear lord and cousin the king of Sicily.

'Nevertheless, my most-redoubted lord, although I had sworn to observe this peace in your presence, with a loyal faith and the most upright intentions, as several who attended might have noticed; and notwithstanding, because I did suspect that after my departure some persons might imagine various strange matters, tending to the infraction of the peace, I sent to you, as soon as I could, letters, to assure you of my cordial intentions of maintaining

the object of your ordinance,—and in greater confirmation, I sent to you some of my confidential servants, principally on this account, as it may please you to remember; yet notwithstanding this, my most dear lord, and that I have not committed any act to infringe your ordinance, whatever accusations have been brought against me by some people, who (saving the honour and reverence always due to you) have spoken contrary to truth: many things have, in like manner, been done against the sense of your ordinance, to the contempt, prejudice, and scandal of myself and mine, who have been pointed out in the aforesaid ordinance.

'I am, therefore, the less bound to proceed according to your will and that of your very dear son, my redoubted lord, and of the princes of your blood, and members of your grand council; but I am pressed thereto from the instigations and extraordinary importunities of some who have for a long time been contentious, and are still the same, in very strange manner,—whom may God, out of his holy grace, reclaim, and bring to a proper sense of duty, as there is great need, and which I most earnestly desire.

'For a fuller declaration of the above, it is true, my most-redoubted lord, that at the instigation of some persons, shortly after I had sworn to the observance of the peace, several skirmishes with armed men were made in Paris, near to my hôtel, which seemed to have been conducted and done in contempt of me, to the prejudice of my character and of the persons of my adherents; for since I quitted Paris, no such things have taken place, nor have any congregations of armed men been heard of; but what is worse, if I were to believe what some have told me, it was intended to lay hands on my person before I departed from Paris, which is no sign of good peace or union.

'It is a fact, that before and since I left Paris, several of your good and faithful servants, and some of mine, have been arrested and imprisoned without having done any thing to deserve such treatment, and others have been obliged, by force and treacherous conduct, to quit Paris.

'It is also known, that all who had shown any affection or attachment to me were deprived of their offices, honours and estates, without any thing being proved to

their prejudice, excepting that they were too good Burgundians, and this is now daily continued. Should they declare, that such things were done by me during the time I was at Paris in the service of your majesty, and that I was constantly in the habit of making such changes, to this a good and true answer may be given; for supposing this were so, if the terms of your ordinance be considered, they will appear founded particularly on peace, union, and affection; and these late changes that have taken place have been caused by a spirit of revenge, which is the reverse of love and peace, and a strong mark of division. It would therefore have been more conformable to the meaning of your ordinance, and more to the advantage of your realm, if such offices had been filled by persons fairly selected, and not through any spirit of revenge.

'By reason of this same spirit, scarcely any of your servants, my most redoubted lord, or those of my lady the queen, or the princes of your blood, or the university, could venture to speak with those known to be attached to my person and honour, for fear of being severely punished.

'There have also been many assemblies holden, in which harangues have been made highly prejudicial to my honour and contrary to truth, (saving the honour and respect due to you,) and in which expressions have been uttered as having been said by me, but too confusedly for their meaning to be well understood, and positively contradictory to the peace made at Chartres as well as at Auxerre, and against the terms so lately sworn to, which may be of very bad example, and contrary to the doctrine of Cato, tending to provoke dissensions and warfare, which may ultimately, which God forbid, prove of the greatest detriment and destruction to your kingdom.

'Many letters have been published in various places, as well within as without your realm, making very light, to all who shall peruse them, of your honour, my most-redoubted lord, of that of my lord of Acquitaine, of several princes of your blood, of the university, and of many of the principal inhabitants of Paris.

'If it should be advanced by some of the writers of these letters, that they have been published to clear their own honour, which

had been stained by other letters, they ought at least to have kept to the truth, and not have laid the blame on those who were well inclined to keep the terms of your edict.

'I have likewise been charged, contrary to the truth, with having entertained men at arms in direct violation of your ordinance, and with having by such means greatly injured and harrassed your subjects. The fact is, what I have before told you, and of which I have sent you information, that by your orders I had a command of a thousand men at arms with my lord and uncle of Berry and others, to whom you had given orders to oppose several enterprises that were undertaken by some of the free companies even at the gates of Paris, to your great disgrace and scandal. Instantly after the proclamation of your edict, I countermanded them, nor have I ever since summoned any, or quartered them on the country.

'Should any bodies of men at arms throughout the realm say that they belong to me, they have neither had my summons nor are they under my command, and I am perfectly ignorant of their intentions; but as there are yet several free companies that still

keep harrassing the country, they may perhaps have assembled to drive them out of it.

'It is a well-known fact, my most redoubted lord, that there are some who have for a long time maintained, and do so still, large bodies of men at arms, between the rivers Loire, Seine, and Yonne, and elsewhere, directly contrary to your ordinance, to the utter ruin of your people, for they make in their pillage no distinction between churchmen and others; and this also is laid to my charge, as they alledge that they keep these bodies under arms for fear lest I should raise a large force and march it against Paris, in direct violation of your ordinance: but this, saving the reverence due to your majesty, is a falsehood; for I have not done this, nor ever thought of doing what would be displeasing to you, in any manner whatever,—nor will I alter this conduct, but, so long as I shall live, will remain your true and loyal relation and obedient subject.

'It is a fact, that several, as I have been informed, have publicly declared, contrary to truth, that I maintained in Paris murderers and assassins, ready to put them to death. In answer to this, my most dear lord, I affirm for

truth, that I not only never did so, but that I never thought of such a thing; but these are not the first aspersions they have cast upon me.

'Many have been banished merely from hatred to me, who declare that they were not deserving such punishment, and are ready to prove it, if they be assured of personal security, and of having fair justice done them. I do not say this from any desire to screen from punishment the wicked or such as may have displeased you, my most-redoubted lord, my lady the queen, or my lord of Acquitaine, but in behalf of those who have been so ill treated from contempt to me.

'I must also complain, that several persons have gone to the houses of my poor servants in Paris, which are adjoining to my hôtel of Artois, and have ransacked them from top to bottom, under pretence that letters had been sent thither by me, to be delivered to different persons near to the market-place, to excite them to raise a commotion in your city of Paris, and particularly in the markets,—for which cause many of the wives of my faithful servants have been very harshly treated, and examined at the Châtelet on

this subject. May it please you to know, most-redoubted lord, that I never have written myself, nor caused to be written by others, any thing that was contrary to your ordinance.

'Those who make such accusations against me act wickedly, for they may give you and others a bad opinion of me; and those who know Paris are well aware that neither the inhabitants of that or any other quarter would, for their lives, act any way that would be to your dishonour. With regard to me, may God no longer grant me life, when I shall act contrary to your good pleasure!

'I now come to the heaviest charge against me. It is reported, but contrary to truth, saving your reverence, that I have entered into a treaty of marriage with England, and that, as the marriage-portion of my daughter, I am to transfer the castles of Cherbourg and Caen, with other places mentioned in the said treaty, to the great prejudice of you and your kingdom. Such things I have neither done nor even thought of; and I wish to God that all within your realm had always been as loyal in the preservation of your person and progeny, your crown and dignity, as I have been, and shall ever be, during my life.

'Other acts, that shall at a proper opportunity and place be declared, have been done contrary to your edict, prejudicial to my own honour and to that of my friends,—but those are already touched upon, and what remain are not only directly against the spirit of your edict, but tend to throw upon my person the utmost possible dishonour; and they are the most effectual means of depriving me not only of your good graces but of those of my lady the queen, and of my lord of Acquitaine, whose happiness and prosperity I have ever desired and shall anxiously promote above all earthly blessings.

'However, my most-redoubted lord, I do not write these things to you, as meaning in any way to infringe your ordinance, or to violate the peace of the kingdom, which has of late been so sorely harrassed, in various ways, that the most perverse mind should feel compassion for it.

'Should any persons now affirm, that I have intentions of avoiding or disobeying the true meaning of your ordinance, I positively declare, that I have never had such thoughts, nor have ever wished to give any opposition to its being carried into full effect; but on the

contrary, I have supported it as much as any of your kindred or subjects have done throughout the realm. It is nevertheless very true, that I have sought for the means of keeping this peace firm and inviolate in your whole kingdom, foreseeing events that might possibly happen should it be infringed. I therefore most humbly supplicate you, my most-redoubted lord, that you would be pleased to redress the above causes of complaint in such wise that those who have been injured may not have further reason to grieve, and that your ordinance may be fulfilled to your own welfare and honour as well as to the good of your realm, so that every one, as has been before said, may sleep in peace and tranquillity,—to the accomplishment of which I am ready to offer all my corporal and worldly effects, together with those of my friends, and every power that God may have granted to me, according as it shall be your good pleasure to dispose of them.

'And, my most dear and redoubted lord, I beseech the blessed Son of God to have you in his holy keeping, and to bless you with a long and happy life. Written in our town of Ghent, the 16th day of November.'

These dispatches were presented, by Flanders king at arms, to the king, who received them very kindly; but those who governed him were not well pleased thereat, and would not suffer the king to make any answer in writing. The chancellor of France told the herald, that the king had very favourably received what his lord the duke of Burgundy had written, and would consider of it and send an answer at a proper time and place. After this, the king at arms left Paris, and returned to his lord in Flanders.

Notwithstanding the letters which the duke of Burgundy had written to the king of France in his justification, those who had the management of the king did not in the least abate the rigour with which they were proceeding against the duke. A few days after the departure of Flanders king at arms, there was a great assembly of theologians holden at Paris, by the bishop of Paris and the inquisitor of the faith, to consider on certain propositions maintained before some of the princes of the royal blood and the duke of Burgundy, and by him supported, against the late Louis duke of Orleans, through the

organ of master John Petit, and to declare whether such propositions be not heretical and erroneous.

Many were much troubled at this meeting, lest the duke of Burgundy should be displeased with them for attending it, and that in time to come they might suffer for it. Here follows the form of a schedule that was delivered to some of the doctors in theology.

'On the part of the bishop of Paris, the inquisitor and council of faith duly assembled, —reverend doctors, be it known, that we have sent to you a schedule containing certain propositions, with their reprobations; and we require from you, under pain of forfeiture, that you deliver your opinions thereon publicly, in writing or by speech, whether these assertions, which have brought notorious scandal on the king's council and on the catholic faith, are erroneous and damnable, that we may proceed thereon as the canon law requires.

'On Wednesday, the 20th day of this month of December, will the first proposition be considered, namely, 'Any tyrant legally may and ought to be put to death by any vassal or subject, even by lying in wait for him, by flatteries and adulations, notwithstanding

any confederation entered into between them, and after oaths having mutually passed, and without waiting for the sentence of any judge whatever.' This proposition, thus stated generally for a maxim, is, according to the common acceptance of the word 'tyrant,' an error in our faith, contrary to the doctrine of good morals, and contrary to the commandments of God: 'Non occides propria auctoritate;' Thou shalt not kill of thy own authority; and in the 26th chapter of St Matthew, 'Omnes qui accipiunt gladium gladio peribunt.'

'This doctrine tends to the subversion of all public order, and of each prince and sovereign, and opens a road for all licentiousness and every consequent evil, such as frauds, violations of oaths, treasons, lies, and general disobedience between vassals and lords, distrust of each, and consequently perdurable damnation.

'Item, he who shall pertinaciously affirm this error, and the others which follow, is an heretic, and ought to be punished as such, even after his death. 'Notatur in decretis questione quinta,' the other proposition.—St Michael, without any orders or command

from GOD, or others, but moved solely by his natural affections, slew Lucifer with everlasting death, for which he is receiving spiritual riches beyond measure.

'This proposition, however, contains many errors of faith,—for St Michael did not slay Lucifer, but Lucifer slew himself by his sin, and GOD put him to an everlasting death. Beside, St Michael did receive orders from GOD to thrust Lucifer out of paradise: 'Quia omnis potestas est a Deo; et hoc sciebat Michael, quia constitutus erat a Deo princeps, quem honorem non sibi assumpsit. Nota quomodo Michael non est ausus inferre auditum blasphemiæ, sed dicit, imperet tibi Dominus: in epistola Judæ.'

'God might also have given him more spiritual riches, and the power of receiving them: therefore he did not obtain such riches through his natural affection.

'With regard to the other proposition,—Phineas killed Zimri without any command from GOD, or from Moses, and Zimri had not committed idolatry. This proposition is contrary to the book containing this history, according to the reading of learned doctors, and according to reason and the nature of

things. You will see in the 25th chapter of the book of Numbers, 'Dicit Moyses ad judices Israel, Occidat unus quisque proximos suos, qui initiati sunt Beelphegor et ecce unus, &c. glosa. Josephus dixit, quod Zimri et principes in tribu Symeon duxerant filias,' &c. Again, Moses, without any orders, slew the Egyptian, so that this assertion is contrary to the text of the Bible, Actuorum vii. according to the explanation of learned doctors, and according to reason. Textus,—'Estimabant, autem intelligere fratres, quoniam Deus per manum ipsius daret salutem Hierusalem,' &c.

'Judith did not sin in flattering Holofernes, nor Jehu by falsely saying that he would worship Baal. This is favourable to the error of those who have declared that lies may be lawful on some occasions. St Austin writes thus against such doctrine to St Jerome, 'Si inquit admissa fuerint vel officiosa mendacia tota scripturæ divinæ vacillabit auctoritas.' The other case brought forward to support the proposition, that Joab killed Abner after the death of Absalom, is contrary to the text expressed in the holy Scriptures, 1 Regum iii. cap. where it is said, that long before the death of Absalom Joab slew Abner.

'The assertion, that it is not perjury to commit such actions, although oaths of fellowship may have been given on both sides, is false, for it is gross perjury, and unprofitable to such as may swear to treacherous alliances: it is fraud, deception, and clear perjury; and to maintain that such actions are lawful is an error of faith.'

When these propositions had been fully discussed, they were condemned as heretical opinions, and errors against the faith.

CHAP. XXIX.

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY GOES TO ANTWERP.—THE ARREST OF SIR JOHN DE CROY,—AND OTHER REMARKABLE EVENTS THAT HAPPENED ABOUT THIS PERIOD.

NEARLY about this time, the duke of Burgundy held at Antwerp a very confidential council, of his most tried friends, on the state of his affairs, at which were present his brother of Brabant and his two brothers-in-law, namely, duke William, and John of Brabant bishop of

Liege, the counts de St Pol and de Cleves. He had assembled them particularly to know whether they would support him in the war which France was silently meditating against him. They all promised him their aid against his adversaries, excepting the persons of the king of France and his children.

When the council broke up, the duke of Burgundy returned to Artois, in his country of Flanders, and the other lords to the places whence they had come. On the feast of the Circumcision, a sergeant at arms came to St Pol en Ternois, and presented to the count letters from the king of France, containing positive orders, under pain of his highest displeasure, not to bear arms nor to assemble any men at arms to accompany the duke of Burgundy or others into his kingdom without his especial licence; and that he should give an acknowledgement of the receipt of this royal command, which the count did.

While these things were passing, the duke of Acquitaine resided in the Louvre with his state, and the duchess and her attendants at the hôtel of St Pol. On Wednesday, the 12th day of January, the queen, attended by the duchess, went to visit her son. A short time

before, by the advice of the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry, of Orleans, and other princes of the blood, she had caused four knights and many other servants belonging to her son of Acquitaine to be arrested and carried away from the Louvre, which had so much enraged the duke that he wanted to sally out to call the populace to his aid, in rescuing these prisoners. The princes, his relatives, would not permit him to do this; and the queen his mother appeased his anger in the best manner she could, and then went to the king in the hôtel de St Pol, leaving with her son the before mentioned princes, who pacified his anger by gentle and kind words.

The four knights who had been arrested were sir John de Croy, the lord de Broy, sir David de Brimeu, sir Bertrand de Montauban, and some others, who very soon after, on promising not to return to the duke of Acquitaine, were set at liberty. Sir John de Croy was detained prisoner, and carried as such to Montlehery.

Although that the duke of Acquitaine pretended to be satisfied, he nevertheless secretly sent one of his servants to the duke of Burgundy to desire that he would hasten to

Paris with all his forces: he afterward wrote to him several letters with his own hand, and without the knowledge of the queen or the princes.

When the duke of Burgundy received this intelligence, he was well pleased, as he wished for nothing more than such a pretext to march to Paris, and instantly issued a summons to men at arms from all countries, appointing a day for them to meet him at Espelry, near St Quentin in the Vermandois. For his exculpation, and that the cause of this armament might be known, he wrote letters to all the principal towns in Picardy, a copy of which is as follows:

"Very dear and good friends, you must have it in your remembrance how that last year, in the month of August, my lord the king returning from his city of Bourges, and tarrying in the town of Auxerre, was desirous that peace should be established for ever between the princes of his blood, and commanded that it should not only be sworn to be observed by them, but likewise by the prelates, nobles, universities and principal cities in his realm. You likewise know that all present at Auxerre did most solemnly swear to its observance, as

well for themselves as for those on whose part they were come thither.

'My lord the king did afterwards issue letters throughout his realm for the more strictly keeping of this peace, and that it might be sworn to; and you also know that we ourself, and others of the princes of the blood, did, by the king's command, take a solemn oath to maintain this peace, according to the schedule drawn up for this purpose at Auxerre; in which, among other things, it was ordained that a good and perfect union should subsist between these lords, and that henceforth they should live in a manner becoming good relatives and friends.

'Now although this peace has been much wished for by us, and that we have never infringed it, or suffered it to be infringed by others in any degree, nevertheless offensive conduct has been holden toward us by the detestable injuries which many have attempted to do to our most redoubted lady and daughter the duchess of Acquitaine, as is notorious to the whole kingdom, without farther entering into particulars.

'Very contemptuous conduct has been used toward ourself, and personal injuries have

been done us, in banishing from Paris every person that was known to be attached to us or to our aforesaid lord of Acquitaine; in defaming our honour in several public assemblies and in various places, by sermons and harangues, which, notwithstanding the pain it has cost us, we have patiently borne, and should have continued to do so from our love of peace, which is the sovereign good to this kingdom, and to avert all the miseries and distress that must otherwise ensue, had not our most redoubted lord and son, the duke of Acquitaine, made known to us, that, after many injurious excesses which had been committed towards him, to his infinite mortification, he was confined in the Louvre like a prisoner, with the drawbridge of the said castle drawn up, which is an abomination that ought not only to be displeasing to us but to every good subject and wellwisher to our lord the king.

'In consequence of this treatment, my most-redoubted lord and son has several times, by messengers and letters, requested our aid and succour to free him from the perilous situation in which he is held; and since we are so intimately connected by blood, marriage, and other confederations, with our said lord the

king, and our beloved lord the duke of Acquitaine, his son, the loyalty and affection we owe to both will prevent us from failing to comply with his demand of assistance and support. We have, therefore, determined to advance to Paris with as large a body of men at arms as we can muster, for the security of our person, and that it may please God that we may see in all good prosperity my aforesaid lord the king, my lady the queen, my much redoubted lord of Acquitaine, and my well beloved daughter his duchess; and likewise that we may deliver them from the danger they are in, and set them, as is but reasonable, at full liberty, without having the smallest intentions of violating the peace of the kingdom.

'We signify this to you, very dear and good friends, that you may be acquainted with our object, and act accordingly, as becometh wellwishers, and truly obedient subjects, to my said lord the king. Know, therefore, for a truth, that our intentions and will are such as we have said, and none other; and we therefore entreat you most earnestly, from our heart, that in this business, which is of such consequence to my said lords, and for the tranquillity and

peace of the realm, you will come forward to our assistance as speedily as possible, that it may be accomplished to our honour and that of my lords the king and the duke of Acquitaine, and for the common good of the realm, and that you will so bear yourselves, that your excellent loyalty may be visible toward my lord the king, the duke of Acquitaine, to the public welfare, and in like manner to ourself, who are only desirous of peace.

'We have a perfect confidence in you, very dear and good friends,—and may God have you in his holy keeping!

'Written in our town of Lille the 23d day of January, in the year of our Lord 1413, on the eve of our departure.'

The superscription was, 'To my very dear and well beloved the resident burgesses and inhabitants of the town of Amiens.'

These letters thus sent by the duke of Burgundy, and also the levy of men at arms which he was making, were immediately known at Paris; and to counteract the enterprises of the duke, a reconciliation took place between the duke of Acquitaine and the king's ministers, in consequence of which the duke was prevailed on to write letters to

different towns to put an end to the intended expedition of the duke of Burgundy. These letters were of the following tenour:

'Louis, eldest son to the king of France, duke of Acquitaine, and dauphin of Vienne, to the bailiff of Amiens, or to his lieutenant, greeting.

'Whereas it has lately come to our knowledge that our very dear and well beloved father-in-law, the duke of Burgundy, has for a short time past begun to raise a large body of men at arms, and still continues to do the same, with the intent, as it is said, of marching them to us, which may be very prejudicial to my lord the king, his realm and subjects, and more especially so to the peace which has been so lately concluded at Auxerre between many princes of our royal blood: we have therefore very fully explained ourself to our aforesaid father-in-law by a letter, the contents of which are as under:

'Louis, eldest son to the king of France, duke of Acquitaine and dauphin of Vienne, to our very dear and well-beloved father the duke of Burgundy health and affection.

'You know how often my lord the king has repeated his commands to you, both by

letter and by able ambassadors, not to raise any bodies of men at arms that might be hurtful to the welfare and profit of his kingdom. You know also what oaths you took, as well at Auxerre as at Paris.

'It has, nevertheless, come to the knowledge of our lord the king, that, contrary to the terms of the peace concluded between our said lord and yourself, and sworn to at Auxerre, you have raised, and continue to raise, bodies of men at arms, with the design, as it is said, of coming to us; and, as a pretence for the levying these men at arms, you have published letters as from us, desiring that you would come to our aid with a large force, which thing we have neither done nor thought of doing.

'Because we are truly sensible, that your coming hither at this time would be very prejudicial to the said peace and welfare of the realm, our said lord the king sends you a sergeant at arms of the parliament, with his positive commands not to come hither.

'We therefore require, and also command you in his name, and on the loyalty and obedience you owe him, as well as for the love and affection you bear to him and to us, and for the good of

the realm, which you say you have had alway at heart, that notwithstanding any letters or messages you may have had from us, you do for the present lay aside all thoughts of coming to us, otherwise you will incur the anger of our lord the king, and that you do disband any bodies of men at arms which are already assembled, and instantly countermand such as have not yet joined.

'Should you have any causes of complaint, or should any thing have happened likely to violate the peace, make them known to my lord, or to us; for we know for a truth, that my said lord will provide such remedies for them as shall give you satisfaction.

'Given at Paris, the 24th day of January, in the year 1413.

'We also require and command you, the bailiff of Amiens, in the name of my aforesaid lord, to have these presents publicly proclaimed in all usual places where proclamations have been made, within your bailiwick, forbidding, in the king's name, all his vassals and subjects, as has been before notified to them, to obey the summons of our said father the duke of Burgundy, either on the pretext stated by him or any other, without his especial order and

licence, as may appear in his letters patent, subsequent to the date of these presents.

'Given at Paris the 24th day of January, in the year of Grace 1413.'

Signed by the duke of Acquitaine, and countersigned 'J. de Cloye.'

The duke of Burgundy, however, in spite of these commands from the king and the duke of Acquitaine, would not desist from his enterprise; and the king then issued a summons for men at arms to oppose him, and published the following edict:

'Charles, by the grace of God, king of France, to the bailiff of Amiens, or to his lieutenant, health and greeting.

'It has come to our knowledge, that our cousin the duke of Burgundy, in opposition to the articles of the peace concluded by us, between him and others of our blood, and sworn to at Auxerre and at Paris, has raised, and continues to raise, large bodies of men at arms, notwithstanding our positive orders to the contrary, as well by letters as by especial ambassadors sent to him for this purpose; and has already quitted his country, and is on the march, as he declares, to come to Paris, by which the said peace will be destroyed, and

would cause numberless evils and irreparable injuries to our realm and subjects, unless a speedy and effectual remedy be provided against it.

'Having, therefore, deliberately weighed the consequences, and the probable means of opposing the enterprises of the duke of Burgundy, we have determined to exert our whole power against him, and all others who shall in any way attempt to infringe the said peace, and to call for the aid and support of all our loyal subjects.

'We therefore do command and expressly enjoin you, under pain of incurring our displeasure, to proclaim these presents in a solemn manner, with a loud voice and with sound of trumpets in all towns and other accustomed places within your jurisdiction, commanding all our vassals and liege subjects, on the faith they owe us, to appear in arms on the 5th day of February next, in our town of Mondidier*, ready to follow us to our town of Paris, or wherever else it may please us to lead them.

* Mondidier,—a town in Picardy, nine leagues from Amiens, twenty-three from Paris.

'They will find in the town of Mondidier sufficient persons authorised by us to receive them, with orders to allow such pay as shall content them; and at the same time, they will inform them whither they are to direct their march.

'You will make this known to all our said vassals and subjects, and forbid them, under the heaviest penalties of corporal punishment and confiscation of effects, and of being counted as traitors to our crown, to comply with any summons, prayers, or entreaties, of the said duke of Burgundy, or others, whether of our blood or not, under any pretence or colour of aiding us, to bear or assemble in arms, or in any way to obey them without our especial leave and licence, in letters patent, of a later date than these presents. Should any have joined the duke of Burgundy or others, you will order them instantly to depart home, even supposing they should be of the kindred or vassals liege of the said duke or others, and had, in consequence of their fiefs, been summoned to assemble in arms; for in this instance we do exempt them not only from obeying such commands, but do promise to guarantee and defend them from any ill

consequences that may ensue from their disobedience.

'Should it happen, that after the proclamation of these our commands, any of our vassals within your bailiwick shall set out to join the duke of Burgundy in arms, or should those who have joined him not return to their homes, but remain in arms with the said duke, or with any others who may have summoned them, we most strictly order and enjoin, that with the least possible delay, and without any excuse or dissimulation whatever, you do seize, in our name, having had a just and true inventory made, all their moveables and immoveables, estates, houses, and all other effects whatever; and that you do put the same under the management of sufficient persons as may, at a fit time and place, render a good account of them, proceeding at the same time to the extremity of the penalties incurred by such for their disobedience.

'You will also arrest and imprison all persons whom you shall discover within your bailiwick endeavouring, by lies and false reports, to sow discord among our loyal subjects, or in any way attempting a breach of the peace; and for this purpose we delegate

to you, by these presents, full power and authority for the punishing of all whom you shall find guilty of such disloyal conduct. We likewise command all our other bailiffs, governors of towns, castles and bridges, and all our officers of justice, diligently to assist you in obeying these our commands; and we also enjoin these our aforesaid officers to permit all our loyal subjects to pass free and unmolested with their horses and baggage when travelling to join us, on showing only a certificate from you under the royal seal of your bailiwick, that they are on their march to us, or elsewhere on our service, notwithstanding we may before have ordered them not to suffer any men at arms to pass or repass, whatever may have been their rank or condition, without our especial licence contained in letters patent of a prior date to these presents.

'Given at Paris the 26th day of January, in the year 1413.' Signed by the king, on the report of a grand council held by the queen,—present the duke of Acquitaine. Countersigned, 'Mauregard.'

This ordinance was sent to Amiens, and to other towns of France,—and with it the king inclosed other letters to many towns on the line

of march which the duke of Burgundy would probably take, forbidding him, or any of his people, to pass the frontiers of the realm, under pain of incurring his indignation.

CHAP. XXX.

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY MARCHES A LARGE FORCE TOWARD PARIS.—HE FIXES HIS QUARTERS AT ST DENIS.—THE EVENTS THAT HAPPENED DURING THIS MARCH, AND IN CONSEQUENCE OF IT.

THE duke of Burgundy, to accomplish his expedition to Paris, on leaving Arras, made for Peronne, intending to enter France; but the inhabitants, who had before received the king's orders not to let him pass, sent to him the lord de Longueval, their governor, to excuse them for denying him entrance into their town. Although the duke was far from being pleased, he, however, pretended indifference to their conduct, marched his forces beside the town, and crossed the Somme at Esclusieu*, and

* Esclusieu,—a village in Picardy, near Peronne.

went to Roye in the Vermandois. He thence sent forward his brother the count de Nevers, who had joined him with a handsome company, to Compiegne.

The count treated so successfully with the townsmen of Compiegne that, notwithstanding the commands of the king, they consented to permit him to pass. The principal reasons for their assenting were the copies of the correspondence between the duke of Acquitaine and the duke of Burgundy, which were shown to them, and which contained the express wishes of the duke of Acquitaine for the duke of Burgundy to come to his aid.

The tenour of the above and of the certificate was as follows.

'To all who these presents shall see, Jean Clabault, esquire-keeper for the king of the seal of the bailiwick of Vermandois established at Roye, greeting.

'Know ye, that on the 23d day of February, of the present year 1413, the most puissant and noble prince my lord duke of Burgundy has exhibited to us, and shown three letters sealed and signed by the most excellent and puissant prince the duke of Acquitaine,

which we have held, seen, and read, word by word,—the contents of which are as follow.

'Very dear and well beloved father, we order, that on the receipt of this letter, you lay all excuses aside and come to us, well accompanied for your own proper security; and as you fear our anger, do not fail coming. Written with our own hand, at Paris, the 4th day of December *.' Signed, 'Louis.'

'The address was, 'To our very dear and well beloved father the duke of Burgundy.'

'Another letter was in these terms:

'Very dear and well beloved father, I wrote to you some time since, to desire you would come to me very well accompanied. I therefore entreat and order, that you hasten hither as speedily as may be, but well accompanied, for good reasons: do not fail, for I will bear you through the whole matter, as shall be seen. Written with my own hand, in Paris, the 13th day of December.' Signed by himself, 'Louis.'

'The superscription was, 'To our very dear and well beloved father the duke of Burgundy.'

* *December.* So in the original, but it must be a mistake.

'The third letter contained,—'Very dear and well beloved father, I have twice written to you to come hither, and you have not complied: I, however, write again, to order that you lay all other considerations aside, and come to me well accompanied for your own security: do not fail to come to me with all possible speed, notwithstanding any other letters you may receive from me to the contrary. We trust that you will instantly obey from the love you bear to us, and from the fear of our displeasure. We have certain causes to desire your company, which affect us in the strongest manner possible. Written with my own hand, this 22d day of December,' and signed by himself, 'Louis.'

'The superscription was the same as the foregoing.

'As a testimony that we have seen and read the above letters, we have affixed the seal of this bailiwick (saving the rights of the king and others) to this copy, which we have faithfully collated with the original, in the presence of Jean Billart, esquire-warden for the king in the provostship of Roye, and of the exempted lands of Charmy, and of the jurisdiction of Roye; and in the presence of

Pierre de la Beane, comptroller of salt in Rôye, of Nicholas d'Ardelchanons, of Roye, Jean Pellehaste, master Guillaume de la Garde, master Godefroy Baudun, Brissart, royal notary, on the day and year aforesaid, and thus signed, Brissart.'

On the third day, the duke of Burgundy left Roye, and went to Compiegne, where, having prevailed on the principal inhabitants to support his party, he took the road for Senlis, whither he had sent forward the lord de Robaix, to know if the townsmen would admit him. This they positively refused to do, in consequence of the orders from the king,—and the duke then took the road by Baron* to Dampmartin†, whither the lords of Burgundy had advanced with a powerful force to meet him.

News was daily carried to Paris, to the duke of Acquitaine and the other princes of the blood, of the duke of Burgundy's march and approach to the capital. When the last intelligence came, the duke of Acquitaine was dining with a canon in the cloisters of Nôtre

* Baron,—a town in Picardy, diocese of Sens.

† Dampmartin,—a town in the isle of France, nine leagues from Paris.

Dame in Paris; and the moment it was known, the king of Sicily, the duke of Orleans, the counts de Vertus, de Richemont, d'Eu, d'Armagnac, with many other great lords, attended by a numerous body of men at arms, assembled in the cloisters, where the duke of Acquitaine mounted his horse. This force was divided into three battalions, the van, center, and rear,—which done, they advanced to the front of the church of Nôtre Dame, and thence marched to the town-house, where they halted. The van was commanded by three counts, namely, those of Vertus, of Eu, and of Richemont, who rode together in front, followed close by their attendants, and at a little distance by the battalion.

In the center division were the king of Sicily and the dukes of Acquitaine and of Orleans, followed by a very considerable body of men at arms. The rear battalion was commanded by the count d'Armagnac, Louis Bourdon and the lord de Gaule, who, like the other commanders, rode all three in front of their men. The whole was estimated at eleven thousand horse. On their coming to the town-house, a trumpet was sounded, when the chancellor of Acquitaine made his

appearance, and, by orders of the duke, told the people of Paris, who were following them, that he, as eldest son and heir to the king and kingdom of France, thanked them for their loyalty and affection, which they had now shown to him, and that he hoped they would exert themselves to the utmost of their power to oppose the duke of Burgundy in his wicked projects, who, in defiance of the king's positive commands, and in violation of the peace, had marched an armed force into the heart of the realm; that he affirmed and assured them, that he had never sent for him, nor written to him to come to Paris, notwithstanding he had declared he had received letters from him to the above purport.

The chancellor then asked the duke if he would vouch for what he had said, who replied, that he would vouch for it, as he had spoken nothing but the truth. After this had been said, they marched away in the same order as before, to the Place du Croix du Tiroir, where they again halted, when the chancellor from horseback, in front of the duke of Acquitaine, repeated to the numerous populace there assembled what he had before said in the Place de Gréve,—which speech was again

avowed by the duke of Acquitaine, after which he retired to the Louvre. The duke of Orleans went to the priory of St Martin des Champs, the king of Sicily to the bastille of St Anthony, the count of Armagnac and Louis Bourdon to the hôtel d'Artois, and the others elsewhere. Shortly after, the duke of Berry came from his hôtel de Neelle to visit the duke of Acquitaine in the Louvre, and thence retired to the Temple, where he and his men had their quarters. The different lords went diligently about the streets of Paris to check any tumults that might arise,—and they had all the gates closed excepting those of St Anthony and of St James.

Notwithstanding they were so numerous in men at arms, they were very fearful of the populace rising against them, in favour of the duke of Burgundy, more especially those who lived in the quartier des Halles.

The duke of Burgundy advanced from Dampmartin to St Denis, which was open to him, for the inhabitants had fled. He there quartered his whole army, and lodged himself at the hôtel of the Sword. His force might consist of full two thousand helmets, knights and esquires, from Artois, Picardy, Flanders,

Rethel and Burgundy, with from two to three thousand combatants, archers, cross-bows and armed varlets. He was accompanied by sir John de Luxembourg, with all the vassals of his uncle the count Waleran de St Pol.

On the third day after the duke of Burgundy's arrival at St Denis, he sent his king at arms, Artois, to Paris, bearing letters to the king, the queen, the duke of Acquitaine, and the commonalty of the town,—in which he requested that they would permit him to wait on them, to explain the cause of his thus coming to St Denis, which, he said, was only with good intentions, no way to make war, nor to demand redress from any person, but solely in obedience to the commands of the duke of Acquitaine, whom he was bound to serve and obey.

When the king at arms arrived at the gates of Paris, he was led to an hôtel,—when shortly after, a man came to him, whom he did not know, and told him to make haste to quit the town, or his person would be rudely treated. Perceiving that he should not be heard, nor allowed to deliver his letters, he was mounting his horse, when the count d'Armagnac advanced

and said to him, that should he or any others come again to Paris from the duke of Burgundy, he would have their heads cut off. Upon this, he returned to his lord the duke of Burgundy, at St Denis, and related to him all that had passed, and how rudely he had been dealt with, which so much displeased the duke that he resolved, by the advice of his council, to march thither in person with his whole force.

On the morrow morning, therefore, the army was drawn up in the fields in battle-array as if they were about to engage an enemy, and thus marched to the gate of St Eustache, which was closed; and there they remained in battle-array for a considerable space, which was a handsome sight. The duke again sent his king at arms to the gate of St Honoré, which was also closed, to demand from those stationed over the gate that four of his most confidential knights, who were near at hand to the king at arms, might be admitted with him, to explain the causes of his coming, which tended to nothing but a solid peace. He was answered by those above the gate, that if he did not speedily withdraw, they would discharge bolts and arrows at him,—adding, that they

would have nothing to say to the duke of Burgundy nor to his knights. Upon this, they retired to the army.

During this time, Enguerrand de Bournouville, with about four hundred combatants, had dismounted, and, with the standard of the duke, had advanced to the gate of St Honoré, to see if he could do any thing; for they had great hopes that the populace would rise in sufficient force to give them entrance through one of the gates, which, however, did not happen.

Enguerrand, nevertheless, said a few words to Bourdon, who was over the gate, but who made him no reply; and, finding nothing was to be done, he retreated to the main body. In his retreat, some cross-bows were discharged at him, and one of his men was wounded, although neither himself nor any of his companions had shown the least offensive intentions, by arrows or otherwise, against those of Paris,—for it had been forbidden them by the duke out of respect to the king and the duke of Acquitaine.

The duke, seeing the matter hopeless, marched his army back to St Denis, and caused letters to be written, which, during

the night, some of his partisans affixed to the doors of the church of Notre Dame, of the palace, and elsewhere in Paris. He sent copies also to the principal towns in France, the tenour of which was as follows.

'We John duke of Burgundy, count of Flanders and Artois, palatine of Burgundy, lord of Salines and Mechlin, make known to all, that by virtue of several letters written and signed by the duke of Acquitaine himself, we came toward Paris, to employ ourselves for the welfare of the king, by command of my lord of Acquitaine, and withal to aid and deliver him from the servitude in which he is held at this moment; in which cause we shall cheerfully exert every power and influence which God may have granted to us in this world; and we signify to all the wellwishers of the king and of my lord of Acquitaine, that they shall be set (if we be able) at full liberty to exercise their free will and pleasure,—and those who have thus confined them shall be banished, that it may be known to all that we do not come hither on any ambitious schemes to seize the government of the kingdom, and that we have no desire to hurt or destroy the good town of Paris, but are ready to fulfil and maintain every article

which we had sworn to observe in the king's edict.

'We are also willing to return to any of our territories, provided others who have sworn to the same ordinance do so likewise,—but they act contrary to it: and we will, that God and all the world know, that until we shall be sensible that my lord the king and my lord of Acquitaine enjoy their full liberty, and that those who now manage public affairs have retired to their several countries, and my said lord the king is provided with honest, able, and notable counsellors and knights, as well as my lord of Acquitaine, we will never desist from our enterprise, nor quit the kingdom of France; for we had much rather die than witness my lord the king and my lord of Acquitaine in such subjection.

'We cannot help being astonished that the citizens and loyal subjects of his majesty can be so hard of heart as to suffer him to remain in this disgraceful slavery; and we are the more surprised that, knowing how nearly we are related to him, they have refused to receive either our knights or our herald, or to permit any one from us to present our letters to my lord the king, my lady the queen, my

lord of Acquitaine, or to the good town of Paris.

'And although we came before the walls of Paris without committing any hostile act whatever, by the command aforesaid, in order to treat of matters touching the peace and welfare of the kingdom, our men have been killed and wounded, without listening to any proposals which they might have made. The count d'Armagnac even told our king at arms, that if he should return again, his head would be struck off,—which is an insult hard to be borne, when we have come hither with our company, paying for all our expenses, as the near relation and neighbour of my lord the king and my lord of Acquitaine, requiring the aid of all good and loyal subjects against those who have kept in servitude and in peril my said lord of Acquitaine, signifying to them, at the same time, that we should, in proper time and place, charge them with treason against their sovereign. Of this you need not doubt,—for, by the aid of God and our just cause in this quarrel, we will pursue and maintain it, with the utmost of our powers, and with the assistance of very many of the principal towns in the realm, who have attached themselves to us.

'Given at St Denis, under our privy seal, in the absence of the grand council, the 11th day of February, in the year 1413.'

When these letters were found posted in several of the public places of Paris, those who were disaffected to the duke of Burgundy had stronger suspicions of his conduct than before; and they took such precautions in the guard of the town that no inconvenience happened.

During the time the duke of Burgundy remained at St Denis, the lord de Croy, who had accompanied him, sent twenty of his most expert and determined men at arms, well mounted, to cross the Seine near to Conflans; thence they rode as secretly as they could, with lance in hand, to the town of Montlehery, where they lodged themselves in two inns near to each other, pretending to be of the Orleans party. Sir John de Croy, son to the lord de Croy, was prisoner, as has been before said, in the castle of that town, and had received intimation of their coming by a chaplain who had the care of him. He made a pretence of going to hear mass in the church that was hard by the castle, when these men at arms who were ready prepared, and on the watch, mounted their horses, hastened toward sir

John, whom they instantly set on a led horse, and thence galloped briskly to Pontoise: they afterward took the road to the ford where they had before crossed the Seine; and made such good haste that they brought sir John safe to his father in St Denis.

This enterprise was highly praised by the duke of Burgundy and the lord de Croy: the principal leaders of it were Lamont de Launoy, Villemont de Meneat, Jenninet de Molliens, Jean Roussel,—the whole amounting to the number aforesaid. They were, however, sharply pursued by the garrison of Montlehery, but they could not overtake them by reason of the variety of roads they took.

The duke of Burgundy again sent Artois, king at arms, to Paris, with letters to the king of Sicily and to the dukes of Orleans and Berry, to notify to them the causes of his coming, and to request that they would suffer him, or at least some of his people, to speak with the king and the duke of Acquitaine; that he was come with good intentions, for he was willing punctually to keep all he had promised and sworn to, provided they on their part would do the same; adding, that they must allow the king and the duke of Acquitaine to

rule and govern the kingdom, without keeping them in servitude, more especially the duke of Acquitaine, whom they detained to his great displeasure. But when the king at arms came to the gate of St Anthony, he was told that he would not be admitted, nor any letters received from him, and that if he did not hasten away, they would treat him disrespectfully. On hearing this, he considered for a few minutes, and then placing the letters at the top of a cleft stick which he stuck in the ground, made off as fast as he could to St Denis, when the duke was more discontented than ever.

Perceiving that he could no way succeed in his object, he deliberated with his council whether he should return to his own country, and within a few days retreated to Compiegne by the way he had come. In this town, and in that of Soissons, he left strong garrisons of men at arms and archers. He appointed sir Hugh de Launoy governor of Compiegne, with the lords de Sainct Ligier and de Forez, Hector and Philippe de Saveuse, Louvelet de Mazaheghen, and other expert men at arms, to the amount of five hundred combatants or thereabout.

In Soissons he placed Enguerrand de Bournouville, sir Colart de Phiennes, Lamon de Launoy, Guoit de Boutilliers Normant, sir Pierre de Menault, and many more warriors.

It was resolved by the aforesaid duke and his chivalry, and by the good towns above mentioned, that until the king and the duke of Acquitaine should be at full liberty, and until they should regulate their conduct by the counsel of such good men and true as they themselves should approve, and until the lords aforesaid, who thus kept them under restraint, and the troops in their pay should retire each to his own territory—as he, the duke of Burgundy, and those of his party, offered to return to their estates and countries—they would never change their resolution, and would yield no obedience to the command of the king, as issued by the advice of his present counsellors or their abettors.

This resolution the duke was to signify to the principal towns, and to all the well-disposed persons in the kingdom, and even to summon them in the names of the king and the duke of Acquitaine to unite themselves to his party for the more effectually accomplishing so desirable

an object; for by so doing each person would acquit himself of his loyalty, and gain renown for life; and the duke promised to aid and support them to the utmost of his power, for the security of which he issued his especial letters.

After this, he departed from Compiegne, and returned to Arras. He sent his Burgundians, to the amount of about seven hundred lances, to quarter themselves in the Cambresis, and in Tierache, in contempt of the king of Sicily, whom he did not love, any more than sir Robert de Bar *, who had refused to assist him in this expedition, although he was his liege-man.

He issued orders from Arras for the three estates of Artois to meet him the 2d day of May, more particularly the nobles, when a great parliament was holden on the state of his affairs. He there caused to be displayed by the lord d'Ollehaing the three letters the duke of Acquitaine had written to him, which being read, he declared on his faith, in the presence of all the lords, that they were written and signed by the duke of Acquitaine's own hand.

* Count of Soissons, mentioned above.

When those present had promised to serve him against all but the king of France and his children, he ordered his ministers to write to many of the principal towns letters of the following import, which were sent to Amiens. He then departed from Arras for his county of Flanders, to do the same.

'Very dear and good friends, being ever desirous that you and all other loyal subjects of my lord the king, the wellwishers of the duke of Acquitaine, dauphin of Vienne, should be advertised of whatever may affect his honour and estate, that of his realm and the public good, that efficient remedies may be provided according to the exigency of the case, we in consequence signify to you the very singular request of my said lord of Acquitaine, duly made to us by three different letters, written and signed by his own hand, containing in substance, that on the pleasure and service we were ever willing to do him, we should incontinently come to him as well and greatly accompanied as possible.

'We obeyed these his orders, as in duty bound, knowing the bondage and danger he was and still is in, from his confinement in the castle of the Louvre by certain persons, contrary

to justice and reason, and to his sore and bitter displeasure. We marched an armed force in consequence, not through any ambition or lust of having any part in the government of the kingdom, nor to break or any way infringe the peace we have so lately promised and sworn to keep, which we are above all things desirous of preserving, but solely in obedience to the good will and pleasure of my lord the king and of my said lord of Acquitaine, and to obtain for him his just freedom. For this cause did we peaceably advance to the town of St Denis, without molesting or despoiling any person, but paying courteously for all that we had need of; and instantly on our arrival there, we sent by our herald, Artois king at arms, sealed letters addressed to my lord the king, my lady the queen, my lord of Acquitaine, and to the good town of Paris,—in which we notified our coming, not with any intent of warfare, or to infringe the peace, but by the orders of my lord of Acquitaine, and to obey his good pleasure (as the saying is), requesting at the same time to have audiences of my lord the king and of my lord of Acquitaine, to the performance of our duty, and to the

accomplishment of their will and pleasure, to which we are bound.

'Notwithstanding this, the presentation of our said letters was most rigorously prevented by the count d'Armagnac and his adherents, without any reasonable cause, and through contempt and malice to us and our friends. The said count even told our herald, that if he did not instantly depart, or if any of our people should again return on this errand, he would have their heads cut off. In consequence, we marched in person from the town of St Denis, grandly accompanied by men at arms and archers, on the Saturday, the 10th of this month, February, to the walls of Paris, without doing harm to any person, but with the intent of amicably explaining the reasons for our thus appearing in arms, and with the expectation of receiving a more gracious answer than was given to our herald; but when we had arrived before the town, and had sent to the gate of St Honoré, which was the nearest to us, our herald, and after him four of our principal knights, to request an hearing, they were told, that if they did not immediately retire, the guards would shoot at

them; and without hearing or saying any more, some cross-bows were discharged, which was, and not without reason, highly displeasing to us.

'Although all these disorderly acts were done without the knowledge or consent of the king, or of the duke of Acquitaine, and although several of our officers were made prisoners, we most patiently bore the whole, from our love of peace; and from our affectionate duty to the king and my lord of Acquitaine, we quietly returned to St Denis, where, during our stay, we permitted all sorts of provision to pass free to Paris, the same as before our arrival there. We have nevertheless had information, that through malicious instigations, contrary to the honour and interest of my lord the king, my lord of Acquitaine, and the public welfare, and against their will and intention, very many letters have been unjustly and wickedly issued, by which the king has, as we are told, banished from his kingdom us and all who attended us before the walls of Paris,—notwithstanding that neither we nor they have at present, or at any other time, neglected our duty to him, nor are we of those who formerly besieged him in the

town of Paris, and who have, in many parts of his realm, damnably set fire to houses, slain his subjects, forced women, violated maidens, pillaged and destroyed churches, castles, towns and mansions, committing at the same time unheard-of cruelties and mischiefs.

'The advisers of this measure, proceeding in their wicked projects from bad to worse, keep my lord the king and my lord of Acquitaine under their subjection and control.

'On this account, therefore, my very dear and good friends, and because such things are contrary to the articles of the peace concluded at Auxerre, and confirmed at Pontoise, we, who are of so great importance, cannot longer suffer them, more especially when we consider the dangerous state in which the king and my lord of Acquitaine are held. Deputations have been likewise sent from many of the great towns, such as Paris, Rheims, Rouen, Laon, Beauvais and others, who have solemnly sworn to support and assist all who shall maintain this peace, and strenuously to oppose those who shall infringe it. We affirm these things to you for truth, so that should you hear the contrary you may not give credit to it, but ever

remain faithful and loyal subjects to my lord the king and my lord of Acquitaine, such as you have ever been, and aid and assist us in the part we have taken, for we have the utmost confidence in your zeal.

'In truth, we expect, through the help of God, and other assistance, for the relief of my lord the king and my lord of Acquitaine, that we may obtain for them full and free liberty of government, such as they ought to possess, and that those who now keep them in bondage may be dismissed from their presence, to reside in their own countries, as we are ready to do, for the due observance of the said peace, and the common good of the kingdom, objects of which we are very desirous.

'Should there be any things which you may wish to have done, that are within our power, know for certain that we will, with God's pleasure, do them with a hearty good will,—and may he have you in his holy keeping! Written in our town of Arras, and sealed with our privy seal, the 27th day of February, in the year 1413.'

There was also written on the margin, 'The duke of Burgundy, count of Flanders and Artois; and that you, my very dear and

good friends, may be fully assured of the authenticity of the letters from my lord of Acquitaine, mentioned in this paper, we send you with these presents true copies of the originals, under an official seal,' and signed 'Vignier.' This letter was drawn up on sealed paper, and had for its address, 'To our very dear and well beloved, the resident burgesses and inhabitants of the town of Amiens.'

CHAP. XXXI.

ON THE RETREAT OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY FROM SAINT DENIS, THE KING OF FRANCE ISSUES ORDERS THROUGHOUT HIS KINGDOM TO RAISE FORCES TO MARCH AGAINST HIM.

WHEN it was known to the king of France, the duke of Acquitaine, the princes of the blood then in Paris, and to the members of the council, that the duke of Burgundy, on his retreat from St Denis, had left large garrisons in the towns of Compiegne, Soissons, and other places belonging to the king, or at least under his

government, they were greatly surprised, thinking he had no just cause for so doing.

To obviate the consequences of this conduct, certain royal edicts were instantly dispatched throughout the bailiwicks and seneschalships in the realm, commanding them to raise forces to resist the future proceedings of the duke of Burgundy, which edicts, and particularly that addressed to the bailiff of Amiens, were as follows.

'Charles, by the grace of God, king of France, to the bailiff of Amiens, or to his lieutenant, greeting.

'To check the many great and numberless evils that have befallen our kingdom, to the prejudice of ourself and of the public welfare, from the quarrels and wars that have arisen between some of the princes of our blood, and that our subjects may live in tranquillity under our government, and that henceforward they may be ruled with justice, which cannot take place but in times of peace,—we have, after mature deliberation, effected an union between these said princes of our blood, which they have most solemnly promised and sworn in our presence to keep inviolate. Although it be not lawful for any of our subjects, whether of

our blood or not, and even contrary to our express orders, to assemble any bodies of men at arms within our realm, yet it has come to our knowledge that our cousin of Burgundy has complained of certain acts done, as he says, to his prejudice, and contrary to the articles of the said peace,—and for this cause he has occupied, or caused to be occupied, several castles and fortresses belonging to us, and against our will; that he has received in his country, and admitted to his presence, several evil doers who have been guilty of treason against us. In consequence, we sent able ambassadors to our said cousin of Burgundy, to admonish him to keep the peace, to offer him every legal means of redress, and to cause such reparation to be made him for any infringement of the peace, as the case might require. At the same time we summoned him to surrender the castles to us, as he was bound to do; and we commanded him not to receive any such evil doers in future, enjoining him to send those whom he had admitted to us, that they might undergo such punishments as justice should order.

'These commands he has not obeyed, nor sent any satisfactory answer. Having learnt

that after this our said cousin of Burgundy was assembling a large body of men at arms, we sent one of the sergeants at arms of the parliament with sealed letters to him, to forbid him to raise any forces whatever. Notwithstanding this, in defiance of the treaty of peace and of our positive orders, our cousin of Burgundy continued to assemble men at arms and archers from all parts; and with this army he has marched from his own country, and, by fraudulent and traitorous means, has, against our will, gained possession of our towns of Compiegne and Soissons, which he still holds, and has placed therein garrisons of men at arms. He also attempted to gain by force our town of Senlis, and has refused to surrender our castles and fortresses aforesaid, which he detains contrary to our commands: he admits to his country and to his presence every person guilty toward us, without ever sending them to us, as we had commanded him to do. He has likewise detained by force our sergeant at arms of the parliament and other messengers from our dearly beloved companion the queen, and from our very dear and well beloved son the duke of Acquitaine, bearing letters from them to forbid him to do any acts contrary to the said peace,

and without sending to us or to them any answers whatever.

'Our said cousin of Burgundy, in defiance and contempt of these our orders and prohibitions, has marched a numerous army near to Paris, accompanied by all or the greater part of those criminals who have been found guilty of treason against us, and therefore banished our realm.

'All these said things have been done, committed, and perpetrated by our said cousin of Burgundy, his adherents and allies, contrary to our royal will and pleasure, in opposition to the articles of the said peace, against the tranquillity of our subjects and the public good of our kingdom.

'Great inconveniences may therefore arise, unless a speedy remedy be applied to this disloyal conduct. Wishing to obviate these evils, and to reduce to obedience those of our subjects who may have joined our said cousin the duke of Burgundy, whose enterprises we will no longer tolerate, but are determined to repress them with the aid of those of our blood, and our other good and faithful subjects, in such wise that it shall be an example to all others.

'We therefore command and strictly enjoin, that on receiving these presents, you do, with a loud voice and with sound of trumpet, in our name, proclaim the arriere-ban*; and that you do repeat this proclamation throughout your bailiwick, so that no one may plead ignorance of it, enforcing obedience to the same from all nobles and others within your jurisdiction who have been used to arms, or in a state to bear arms, and from all who may hold fiefs or arriere-fiefs of the value of twenty livres tournois. You will see that prompt attention be paid to our command by all nobles, citizens and inhabitants of the towns within your bailiwick, on the faith and homage they owe to us, and under pain of confiscation of estates and goods, should they not join us in all diligence with the greatest possible number of men at arms and archers, without any excuse or denial whatever.

'You will enjoin the inhabitants of your principal towns to send instantly to our good

* *Arriere-ban*,—'a proclamation, whereby those that hold of the king by a mesne tenure are summoned to assemble and serve him in his wars,—different from *ban*, whereby such are called as hold immediately of him,—also the whole troop of those mesne tenants or under vassals so assembled.'

Cotgrave's Dict.—See '*Ban*' and '*Arriere-ban*.'

city of Paris men at arms and archers, mounted on horseback and sufficiently accompanied,—and we command them thus to do for our service in this matter, and wherever else we may employ them, forbidding them at the same time, under the severest execution of the penalties aforesaid, to obey, in any manner whatever, the summons, orders, or requests of our said cousin of Burgundy, or under pretence of serving us, or under other pretexts, to aid or promote his designs.

'Should any persons within your jurisdiction have joined him, let them instantly return, and not give him either support or advice. You will arrest all whom you shall know to be favourable to him, or who have joined him, whenever you can lay hands on them. Should you not be able to do this, summon them, under pain of banishment; and take possession, in our name, of all their effects, moveable and immoveable, whatever, which you will administer on our behalf.

'You will also make public proclamation in our name, for all prelates, abbots, priors, chaplains and other churchmen, who are bound to supply us with carts, sumpter horses, and

other services from their fiefs, instantly to perform them and send them to us. You will, in case of their neglecting the same, seize their temporalities, or use such other measures as are customary in such like cases.

'At the same time, you will strictly forbid in our name, under the aforesaid penalties, all labourers, tradespeople, or others, excepting those before mentioned, to assemble in arms, or to collect together in companies, after the manner of the pillagers in former times, but give orders that they do apply to their labour or trades. Should any be found to act contrary, you will imprison them, and inflict on them such punishment as justice may ordain, to serve as examples to others.

'We likewise command and enjoin you to suffer all men at arms and archers, whether from our kingdom or elsewhere, that may be on their march to join us, to pass freely through your bailiwick, without any let or hindrance whatever, notwithstanding any letters or orders from us to the contrary, unless of a subsequent date to these presents, and signed by ourself in council; and you will afford to such person or persons every aid, encouragement, and advice, should need be, in any of our towns, castles,

bridges or passes, that may tend to obstruct them on their march. This we order to be done without refusal or contradiction, for such is our will and pleasure; and you will certify to our faithful chancellor your proceedings in this business, that your diligence may be the more apparent; and be careful, under pain of deprivation of office, and of the aforesaid punishments, that there be no neglect on your part.

'We will beside, and command you by these presents, that in regard to all quarrels, suits, debts, or prosecutions for any matters in litigation that may have been brought before you within your bailiwick against those who may have set out to join us in obedience to our summons, you do defer pronouncing any sentence or sentences thereon, until fifteen days be expired after the return home of the parties serving us, and that you do order all provosts, judges, or officers under you, to do the same; and should any sentences have been passed, or further proceedings thereon, you will stay the same, and without delay make every possible reparation.

'For the carrying our said will into execution, we, by these presents, do give you

full and ample authority; and by them also we command all officers of justice, and others our subjects, diligently to attend to and obey your orders, issued for the above purposes, and to afford you aid and advice, and even the use of their prisons, should it be found necessary.

'Given at Paris, the 8th day of February, in the year of Grace 1413, and of our reign the 33d.' Signed, on the report of the grand council held by the queen, the duke of Acquitaine and others, 'Jean du Chastel.'

This edict was sent to Amiens, and there proclaimed. It caused great distress to all who had joined the party of the duke of Burgundy, as well within Paris and its neighbourhood as elsewhere, for very many were arrested and beheaded: others were imprisoned, and their fortunes confiscated.

Another edict was soon after issued, after great deliberation in council, and published throughout France, by which the duke of Burgundy was deprived of all the favours that had formerly been done him, and he and all his partisans were banished the kingdom. This was the tenour of the edict.

'Charles, by the grace of God, king of France, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting.

'Whereas, after the very cruel and damnable murder lately perpetrated by the order and instigation of John our cousin of Burgundy, on the person of our very dear and well beloved only brother Louis, duke of Orleans, of good memory, whose soul may God pardon! the said duke of Burgundy came to our good town of Paris, attended by a numerous body of men at arms, against our will and in defiance of our commands to the contrary, and there endeavoured to justify himself from this atrocious murder, by means notoriously false, and by many arguments scandalous and offensive to our majesty and to the public weal.

'We, considering the very many evils that might ensue in consequence of this murder to our subjects and kingdom, and being desirous to obviate the same, did order our very dear son and beloved nephew, the present duke of Orleans, with our very dear and well beloved nephew the count de Vertus, his brother, children to our late brother, and minors, to

meet us in our town of Chartres, where we formed a pacification between our said nephews and the duke of Burgundy; and although the terms of this pacification were extraordinary and harsh to our said nephews, nevertheless they subscribed to them in obedience to us, and from pity to the subjects of the realm, who must have suffered greatly from the intestine wars that would otherwise have taken place.

'Notwithstanding the duke of Burgundy swore in our hands to the observance of this treaty, and that he would thenceforward be a loyal and sincere friend to our said nephews and their adherents, he very shortly acted contrary to this oath and solemn promise, by revenging himself on some of our servants, whom he suspected to have advised us to have justice done on him for the murder of our said brother the duke of Orleans, and also to continue his wicked designs of gaining the sole government of our person and kingdom. This was the true reason for his committing so foul a murder, and for arresting many of our faithful servants,—some of whom he caused to be put to death, and, by unjust

and iniquitous means, exacted from others exorbitant and immense sums of money.

'In consequence, our nephews of Orleans, seeing that the duke of Burgundy was infringing daily, and in various ways, the treaty which he had sworn to keep at Chartres, and was regardless of all that he had promised, most humbly but earnestly supplicated us at different times, that we would administer justice on the murderers of their father, as we were bounden to do; but the duke of Burgundy, who had deprived us of our most loyal servants, and in their room had placed others attached to him, prevented us from hearing their complaints, and from rendering the justice it became us to administer. And what was worse, our nephews perceiving that they could not obtain any redress from us, through the interference of the duke of Burgundy, resolved to make war personally upon him, to revenge the murder of their father, as was natural for them to do.

'The duke of Burgundy then accused them (and published falsely, contrary to all resemblance of truth, as we are fully informed and assured), that they and others of our blood, being in their company, wished to

deprive us of our royal estate and dignity, and make a new king of France. And under pretence of these lies and charges, contrary to all truth, he raised our people against them, wishing to cover his wicked intentions and quarrel with lies, whence, as every one knows, so many and serious misfortunes have arisen.

'Under pretext of this warfare, the duke of Burgundy has caused to be arrested and confined in our prison of the Châtelet at Paris, and elsewhere, numbers of considerable gentlemen, knights and squires, because he charged them with being favourable to the wellwishers of the party of our nephews, or inclined to others of our blood and lineage in their company: many whom he thus imprisoned he made suffer the cruellest tortures, and then put them to death without a shadow of reason or justice.

'Some he starved to death in prison, denying them confessors or any of the ecclesiastical sacraments, throwing their bodies into the fields to be devoured by dogs, birds, or wild beasts, without allowing them to have Christian burial, or that their new-born children should be baptised, which is expressly

against our religion. In these transactions, the most horrid and unheard-of cruelties were committed.

'Under cover of this war, which neither was nor ought to have been ours, but his own, and personal to himself, this Burgundian caused excessive and extraordinary taxes to be raised on our people, by tailles, loans, and other means; such as seizing the treasures of churches, the deposits in our courts of parliament, Châtelet, and elsewhere, which had been there placed for the advantage of widows, and children under age, or for the purpose of completing purchases or repayment of mortgages.

'The said Burgundian also made great depreciations in our coin, by which he gained large sums of money, but to the severe loss of us, our people, and the public welfare. By these and other equally fraudulent means has he reaped very considerable profit, and for these two or three years last past has applied to his own benefit the money of our people, amounting to ten hundred thousand golden florins at the least, as has been clearly demonstrated to us by the statement of the accounts, without any part of it being employed for our service.

'This has caused a failure and total stoppage of commerce, so necessary to us and our kingdom, for some time past; consequently the revenues of our domain and taxes have been shamefully diminished, as is notorious to all.

'But not contented with this, and in the design of totally destroying our nephews aforesaid, our very dear and well beloved uncle the duke of Berry, and several others of our blood, with the intent of gaining the sole government of our kingdom to himself, the duke of Burgundy constrained us and our dearly beloved eldest son the duke of Acquitaine to oppose with force of arms our said nephews and their adherents, under colour that the war was ours—whereas it was no such thing—and obliged us to march from Paris against them, as if they had not alway been our very loyal and affectionate relatives and subjects.

'In fact, we laid siege to the city of Bourges, wherein was our uncle aforesaid; and we were detained before it for upwards of six weeks against our will, and to our very great displeasure.

'We and our son were in great personal danger, as well from the excessive heat of the

season as from the attacks made on our army, insomuch that we thought it right to remove to our town of Auxerre, where we had assembled our said uncle, nephews, and other princes of our blood. There, by the grace of God and his holy aid, and by the commands of ourself and of our eldest son, certain articles of pacification were drawn up and agreed to by our said uncle, son, and nephews, with their allies, on the one part, and the duke of Burgundy and his allies on the other,—which articles both parties solemnly promised and swore before us to keep, without any way infringing them.

'Nevertheless, not long after we were returned to our town of Paris, the said duke of Burgundy, contrary to his promise on oath, came thither, intending to annul the said peace made by us, and sworn to by him, as has been before said, and caused to be drawn up certain letters in our name, which he had attached to our edict concerning the peace, by which he made us repeal and annul the greater part of what had been granted by us and our said eldest son, thus infringing the articles of the peace, namely, the restitution of estates, inheritances, honours and offices, to such as

had adhered to the party of our said uncle and nephews, and to others of our blood and lineage, their allies and partisans. He has, moreover, retained, for a long space of time, against our will, and contrary to the agreements we had entered into, and his own oath, the castles of Coucy and Pierrefons, belonging to our said nephew the duke of Orleans, with many other castles, estates, and houses of several of that party, notwithstanding letters of restitution granted by us, and verified by our court of parliament. Neither the duke of Orleans nor any of his adherents could regain the possession of their lands,—for there was scarcely any one member of our court of parliament who dared to gainsay the will and enterprises of the duke of Burgundy or his accomplices, who were solely bent on having the entire management of us, of our dear companion the queen, our well beloved eldest son the duke of Acquitaine, and the whole government of the realm.

'To keep us in the greater subjection, the said Burgundian raised persons of low rank and consideration in Paris to places of trust, who, by his authority and exhortations, and being in his full confidence, undertook the

government of our royal self, that of the queen, the duke of Acquitaine and the whole kingdom. These persons frequently came to our councils, and those of our court of parliament, in a violent and disorderly manner, menacing our faithful and honest counsellors in such wise that the regular course of justice was stopped; and it was impossible to prevent whatever they should ordain or desire from being agreed to, one way or other.

'In pursuing their wicked courses and damnable designs, it is a fact, that on Friday the 28th day of April last passed, when the said Burgundian, his accomplices, adherents, and people of low degree began to perceive that several of our blood and lineage, and others our officers, and those of our well beloved son, the members of the university, wealthy merchants and loyal burgesses of the town of Paris, were discontented with their mode of government, suspecting also that they intended even to drive them from their power and authority by force, and then punish them for their malversations, caused a great assembly of the populace to be holden, the most part of whom knew not for what they were thus assembled.

'Then, without any justifiable reason, they marched with displayed banners, in a warlike manner, to the hôtel of our said on, whence, against his commands and will, and to his great displeasure, they carried away our very dear and well beloved cousin the duke of Bar, with many others the especial counsellors and servants of our said son, according to a written list of names which the duke of Burgundy held in his hand, and who had them first conducted to his hôtel of Artois, and thence to different prisons.

'Not long after, on another day, these same people of low degree, by the practices of the duke of Burgundy again returned to our palace of St Pol with displayed banners, and with force and violence, contrary to our will and pleasure, as well as in disobedience to the commands of our said queen and eldest son, they seized our very dear and well beloved brother Louis duke of Bavaria, with other officers of our said son, and also certain ladies and damsels attached to and in the service of our said companion the queen, whom they arrested in her chamber, she being present, and carried to different prisons, where they were long detained in great personal danger.

'This same populace, through the connivance and encouragement of the duke of Burgundy, committed a variety of crimes and excesses, such as seizing day and night, without any judicial authority, many of our officers and other inhabitants of our said town of Paris, confining them in prisons, murdering some, and throwing the bodies of others into the river, by which means they were drowned; ransoming several for large sums of money, without any one daring to check or punish such atrocious acts.

'All this was done through the practices and support of the duke of Burgundy; by which means he has detained us, our companion the queen, and our said eldest son, in such subjection and danger that we had not liberty to do any one thing as we should have pleased; for after these arrests had taken place, he appointed others to fill their places, who were firmly attached to him and his measures. Even persons of the lowest order were raised by him to offices,—and this conduct was pursued until it pleased the Lord, by means of the activity and diligence of our very dear and well beloved cousin the king of Sicily, in conjunction with our dear nephews of Orleans,

our well beloved cousins the duke of Bourbon, the counts d'Alençon, d'Eu, and others of our royal blood, many prelates, barons, knights, esquires, and several of our court of parliament and of our dear daughter the university of Paris, and capital burgesses of that town, to restore us, our dear companion the queen and son, to that liberty which we should reasonably enjoy; and the peace that had been agreed to at Auxerre was again confirmed and sworn to by the said Burgundian, and others of our blood and lineage. Nevertheless, the duke of Burgundy, prior to the expedition which our said eldest son made, by means of the populace of Paris, on the 4th day of August last past, exerted himself to the utmost to put an end to this peace, by having it published in several hôtels and other places in Paris, that if the people consented to such a peace, it would be the ruin of the town, which was notoriously false.

'Since the peace was thus renewed and confirmed, the duke of Burgundy has been much discontented; and when some of those disturbers of the peace, persons of low degree, quitted Paris under pretence of going to Burgundy, though in fact they went to

Flanders, Artois, and other territories of the duke, he received them graciously, criminals as they were, with other traitors and murderers of our said brother the duke of Orleans, notwithstanding we had sent him especial ambassadors, who, among other things, required and commanded him in our name that those criminals whom he had received, and who had been convicted of treason against us, and consequently banished the realm for ever, should be delivered up that justice might be done on them. They also demanded restitution of several castles that he kept possession of, by himself or others, contrary to our pleasure, namely, the castles of Crotoy, Laon, and Chinon,—but to all these demands he has been disobedient.

'The worst part of his conduct is, that under colour of the most abominable falsehoods, he has raised as large a body of men at arms and archers as was possible, as well from his own countries of Burgundy and Savoy as from Flanders, Artois and elsewhere, which he has marched to the walls of our good town of Paris. To gain partisans, and an undisturbed march, he has sent sealed letters to several of our large towns to require aid and support,

under colour that he was marching to Paris by the command of our said eldest son, to deliver us from the bondage in which, as he said, we were detained, and which is a notorious falsehood,—for we never enjoyed greater liberty than we do at this moment, and have done ever since his departure from Paris.

'It is also false that he has had any commands from us on this subject: on the contrary, we and our dear son have, by our letters patent, positively forbidden him, under pain of our displeasure, to dare to come before us with any assemblage of men at arms, which he has not only disregarded and paid no attention to, but has imprisoned one of the sergeants at arms of our court of parliament, whom we had sent with the above letters patent, solemnly to forbid his assembling any bodies of men at arms, and which he properly executed.

'Pursuing his evil designs, his conduct from bad becomes worse; and, contemning the orders of us, who are his sovereign, he marched like a rebel, in a hostile manner, toward our town of Paris, with the largest force he could collect, in direct opposition to our express commands, thus breaking the

peace which he had so solemnly sworn to keep, and rendering himself unworthy of those graces and favours which had been shown him in former times. He has with him, and under his obedience, all those false traitors who on conviction of their treasons have been for ever banished the kingdom, that through their means he may be enabled to stir up sedition in our good town of Paris and elsewhere.

'He has gained possession of our town of Compiegne, although we had sent orders to the inhabitants not to suffer him to enter it with any body of men at arms, or in an hostile manner, which orders were shown to him; but he held them in contempt, and what is worse he now occupies that town, and has placed therein a garrison contrary to our commands. In like manner has he taken possession of the town of Soissons, although the inhabitants had received orders similar to those sent to Compiegne, of which the army of the duke of Burgundy was assured.

'This Burgundian has even advanced his army to St Denis, which he has seized and made his head-quarters, contrary to our will and pleasure, forming of it, as it were, a frontier to our good town of Paris; and by

way of demonstrating his wickedness and infamous designs, he advanced his army with displayed banners, and in a warlike manner, to the very walls of Paris, and remained there a long time in battle-array. He even sent his scouts to the very gates, in the hope of raising a sedition among the populace, and then entering the town by force of arms, contrary to our will, and thus acting like an enemy, and being guilty of the crime of high treason toward us, many complaints of which have been and are daily made to us on this subject.

'Know ye, that having considered the above acts, and others connected with them, and the whole of the duke of Burgundy's conduct since the death of our said brother to this present time, inasmuch as he has been ever ready to proceed by force of arms, and has several times notoriously disobeyed our commands, more especially in this last act, when we positively enjoined him not to march any armed force to Paris, and in several others, which he has obeyed or not according to his pleasure. For these causes he is and must be esteemed ungrateful, and undeserving of all the favours that have been shown him by us in former times.

'Having therefore held a grand council on the above, to which persons of all ranks were admitted, and having duly considered the same, we declare that the duke of Burgundy, and all who shall give him any aid, support or advice, or join his company, contrary to our said edicts, issued by us to forbid the same, shall be, and are by these presents, held and reputed rebels to us, and violators of the peace, consequently enemies to us and to the public welfare of our kingdom. For these causes we have determined to call out our arriere-ban, and to muster such forces of those who have been accustomed to bear arms as may be sufficient to enable us to resist the perverse dispositions and attempts of the duke of Burgundy, his accomplices and adherents, to reduce them to that subjection and obedience which they owe to us, and to punish them for their traitorous misdeeds, so that honour may redound to us, and they may serve in future as examples to all others.

'We give it in command by these presents to our well beloved and faithful counsellors, members of our parliament, to the provost of Paris, to the bailiff of Amiens, and to all other our officers of justice, to their deputies, and to

each of them to whom it may appertain, that they do proclaim these presents, or cause them to be proclaimed, in the most public places within their jurisdictions where such proclamations have usually been made, so that no one may plead ignorance of the same.

'Commanding also, at the same time, that all our officers and subjects who may have been used to arms do hasten with all possible speed to join and serve us in such things as we may command, with as many men at arms as they can collect, under pain of our highest displeasure and suffering confiscation of effects, or such other punishment as may be awarded against all who shall in any way disobey these our said commands.

'In testimony of which, we have to these presents affixed our seal.—Given at Paris, the 10th day of February, in the year of Grace 1413, and of our reign the 33d *.' Thus

* There is the most extraordinary confusion of dates throughout these state-papers, which it is, probably, utterly impossible to rectify by any conjectural emendations: but it seems right to take some notice of the circumstance, as at first sight it appears a most culpable oversight. It is not only here but throughout the book that this confusion prevails, as is very evident from the challenges of the arragonian esquire in the beginning of the volume.

signed by the king, on the report of the great council, held by the queen and my lord of Acquitaine. Countersigned, ' Derion.'

This edict was proclaimed in Amiens, and afterward in the provostships, and throughout the bailiwick by commission from the said bailiff.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

AT THE HAFOD PRESS,
BY JA. HENDERSON.

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